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TAMIL CULTURE

A Quarterly Review dedicated to the study of Tamiliana

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The Greatest Tamil Mystic

S. MAHARAJAN

TIRUMOOLAR is the greatest mystic and seer that Tamil Nad has ever produced. The eighteen Siddhas of Tamil Nad acknowledge him as their supreme preceptor and as the progenitor of the esoteric school of the Tamils.

Legend has it that he lived for 3,000 years, and out of the silence of his soul, brought out one song a year. It may be that is only a poetic way of saying how profound and beautiful are his three thousand songs and how long each of them must have taken to be contemplated and composed. Beyond legend there is no reliable historical material to help us fix his age. In Puranic literature, however, there are references which suggest that Tirumoolar lived in 6,000 B.C.

Whatever might be his age, Tirumoolar remains valid for all time. His *Thirumanthiram* is an encyclopaedia of authentic spiritual experience at almost all levels, that is to say, from idolatry to a disembodied absorption in the Ultimate Void. He is about the only Indian mystic who has cared not only to record his experiences but also to evolve and communicate an elaborate technique by following which other aspirants may reach the goal he set for himself. It is true that the secrets discovered by Tirumoolar have been set down in highly symbolic language. The writer of this article once thought that the key to his symbolism has been irretrievably lost. But subsequent contact with living mystics has convinced him that the key is in safe and exclusive keeping. If there is good reason to keep the atom bomb out of the reach of the rabble, there is much greater reason to deny to it the fruits of supra-material research.

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Even the intellectual is not qualified to obtain initiation into the secrets, unless he realises that the intellect is after all one of the most contemptible and inadequate instruments given to man. It is in the awareness of human ignorance that Tirumoolar sees the beginnings of spiritual wisdom. Accordingly, in his preface to *Tirumanthiram* he sings with characteristic humour :—

> ஆரறிவார் எங்கள் அண்ணல் பெருமையை
> ஆரறிவார் இந்த அகலமும் நிகளமும்
> பேரறியாத பெருஞ்சுடர் ஒன்றதின்
> வேரறியாமை விளம்பு கின்றேனே.

> Whoever knows the glories of my Lord
> and who, the vastness of Infinity : (yet)
> Of my ignorance of that Nameless Light
> I shall sing three thousand songs.

Einstein, that great scientist, standing on the brink of the Known and peeping into the Unknown, exclaims,

> "How terrifying is my ignorance !"

Consciousness of ignorance, however, holds no terrors for Tirumoolar : in fact he exults and revels in it as the liberator from the Ego.

But even the man who has become aware of his ignorance is trammelled by the Ego. Tirumoolar would, therefore, urge him to go beyond knowledge and ignorance into Pure consciousness. The wisdom acquired through such unfettered consciousness can alone be regarded as having ultimate validity.

> அறிவறியாமை கடந் தறிவாளுல்
> அறிவறியாமை அழகிய வாறே.

How then are we to have access to the region of Pure consciousness where there is awareness but no thought ? The exact mechanism by which the different states of consciousness can be reached has been suggested by Tirumoolar in several places.

The mind is located by Tirumoolar in a specific physical centre in the human body. This is very much like the gear box of an automobile. The mind can be said to be in the first

gear when we are awake, in the second gear when we are dreaming and in the third gear when we are in deep, dreamless slumber. In other words, there are three physical states in the body corresponding to the three mental conditions, *viz.*, waking, dreaming and sleeping. When a waking man falls asleep, a corresponding involuntary change takes place in his physical condition. Likewise, when he drifts into the *dreaming condition, an automatic* physical change occurs. In their great spiritual laboratories, our Gnanis made this most momentous discovery and put it to immediate use. By physically manipulating the centre in which the mind resides and by changing its gear they found they could enter into any of these three mental conditions voluntarily and at will, retaining at the same time their awareness. They could, for instance, get into the deep slumber condition, remaining aware or "awake". The Ego, which is like a prism distorting and refracting Reality, is itself asleep in slumber, and the Gnani, who can go into slumber without losing awareness, is in a position to have a glimpse of Reality undistracted by the frolics of the Ego. Beyond slumber is the fourth condition of Turiya where the Ego dies completely and the soul stands face to face with the Lord ready to melt in his embrace.

It is when the mystic finds himself in this condition of the utmost absorption that he is able to pierce the multifaceted crust of reality and perceive the Primordial and undifferentiated stuff of Being. Tirumoolar clarifies this truth with his famous analogy of a wooden toy elephant.

The child played, ecstatic, with his elephant proud
He cared not it was made of wood,
Unplayful man beheld but a lump of wood,
He missed, alas! the elephant's form;
Even so, the Elements hide the Real from our sight,
But the Mystic's eye pierces thro' the Elements and gets
at God.

மரத்தை மறைத்தது மாமத யானை
மரத்தில் மறைந்தது மாமத யானை
பரத்தை மறைத்தது பார்முதல் பூதம்
பரத்தில் மறைந்தது பார்முதல் பூதம்.

Lest the reader should think that Tirumoolar is much too pre-occupied with the Spirit, it is necessary at this juncture to set out the place he assigns in his system to secular life. Albert Schweitzer complains that all oriental philosophers, with the wholesome exception of Tiruvalluvar, deny the reality of life and the world. Tirumoolar affirms the reality of life and the world. To him the human body is not an execrable delusion but a divine gift to be treasured and even adored. In fact he calls every human being " a walking temple of God " and adds that any offering made to this temple is more readily accepted by God than the offerings made in the stone temples of God. This principle supplies a rational basis for, and justifies all social service. Even from the spiritual stand-point, the individual, who engages himself in social service, finds that his Ego is slowly thinning out and he begins to experience a new joy which derives from his increasing liberation from the Ego.

The dignity of the body, in Tirumoolar's view, is almost as great as that of the spirit. He confesses :

> " Once I thought that the body was something, vulgar and mean,
> But now I know that inside the body and only through it, can I get at Reality."

உடம்பினை முன்னம் இழுக்கென் றிருந்தேன்
உடம்பினுக் குள்ளே உறுபொருள் கண்டேன்

At another place he says that the Body is the Temple, the Mind is the Sanctum Sanctorum and the spirit is the Lord and the five wicked-seeming senses are the eternal foot-lights that light up the glory of the Lord.

உள்ளம் பெருங் கோயில் ஊனுடம் பாலயம்
வள்ளற் பிரானார்க்கு வாய் கோபுர வாசல்
தெள்ளத் தெளிந்தார்க்குச் சீவன் சிவலிங்கம்
கள்ளப் புலனைந்தும் காளா மணி விளக்கே.

One must make spiritual hay while the bodily sun shines, for, the moment the body is lost, all experience comes to an end and consequently, the opportunity of emancipation comes to an end, too. That is why our mystic exclaims,

உடம்பை வளர்த்தேன்
உயிர் வளர்த்தேனே.

"By developing my body
I developed my Spirit, too".

To Tirumoolar bodily health, however, is only a means to a spiritual end and not an end in itself.

Turning next to the control of the senses, we find that Tirumoolar's attitude in this respect is refreshingly unorthodox. The senses are but the servants of the mind and have no volition of their own. He, therefore, declares that it is dangerous to impose any restraint upon the senses. That will be tackling the mind from the wrong end. Every such restraint is bound to create an inhibition in the mind and thereby further complicate the sub-conscious. He suggests that the mind (conscious and sub-conscious) should be independently treated in such a way that an effective disjunction between the mind and the senses is brought about at will. When one has acquired mastery of the mind in this way, he gains freedom from the senses, not by controlling them, but by transcending them.

அஞ்சும் அடக்கடக் கென்பர் அறிவிலார்
அஞ்சும் அடக்கும் அமரரும் அங்கில்லை
அஞ்சும் அடக்கில் அசேதனமா மென்றிட்டு
அஞ்சும் அடக்கா அறிவறிந்தேனே.

The esoteric tantras (exercises) laid down by Tirumoolar for the rejuvenation of the body and the purification of the Mind and Spirit cannot be understood except through the initiation of a competent and loving Guru. The supreme necessity of seeking out the Guru is, therefore, repeatedly emphasized by Tirumoolar as in the following song:

வரும்வழி போம்வழி மாயா வழியை
கருவழி கண்டவர் காணு வழியைப்
பெருவழி யாம்நந்தி பேசும் வழியை
குருவழி யேசென்று கூடலு மாமே.

But, the acquisition of the Guru is, in Tirumoolar's view, governed by the laws of Grace. Thus Tirumoolar, like all great Mystics, ends, as he began, with a declaration of his boundless faith in Divine Grace and his absolute surrender to God.

The Ethical Interpretation of Nature in Ancient Tamil Poetry

DR. XAVIER S. THANI NAYAGAM, M.A., M.LITT.

IT IS a favourite point with writers on India to say that the "historical sense" is wanting in all ancient Indian literature. If by a "historical sense" is meant a sense that ought to have produced chronological tables, and authors like Herodotus and Livy who wrote to recount the deeds and facts of the past, then it must be admitted that no literature has come down to us that warrants the existence of such works.

Yet, ancient Tamil literature abounds with allusions, both to contemporary and past events. If even in the absence of works similar to those written by Greek and Roman historians, it has been possible to trace out a history of the Tamil people during the Cangam period, it is due to the historical references in Cangam literature.[1] Many of these references occur in love-poetry. This fact ought to prove to some extent how much the Tamils relished historical references. At the same time, it must be observed, that even these references were often made not only to praise the memory of great Tamil personages of the past but also to eulogize their patron-kings and patron-chiefs. For instance, a poet writes about the gossip in the locality regarding the courtship and clandestine meetings of a hero and a heroine. It may be he has an actual "case" in mind, or it may be he is just imagining a poetic situation. The poet would compare the wide-spread gossip and scandal-mongering (அலர்) of neighbours to some contemporaneous or past victory in battle achieved by a king or chief he admires, or from whom he has received bounteous gifts, saying that the gossip was more resounding than the shouts with which the foes of his hero retreated in battle, or louder than the jubilant cries of his patron's soldiers when they cut

1. Writers like P. T. SRINIVASA IYENGAR and K. N. SIVARAJA PILLAI have based their works entirely on this literature.

down the "guardian tree" of his enemy. Or the allusion may be manifestly to historic exploits performed by the nation's heroes in the past.[2]

Apart from the purely historical allusions, Cangam literature contains also numerous passages in which the poets associate landscape with historical events and historical persons. This historical association in nature poetry is also to be found among poets of other nations like Vergil. English poets have used it in poems here and there. Byron's *Childe Harold* contains many passages where landscape evokes thoughts and reflections on the past, and Scott is famous for seeing his landscape always through historical association. The Tamil poets too had a capacity to see the earth coloured by this historical association, but their manner of expressing historical association is worth noting for it is both rare and impressive.

The tresses of the heroine have a fragrance that floats in the breeze. The fragrance reminds the poet of the fresh sweet smell that emanates from parks and jungles on a morning when the *mullai* is in bloom, and forthwith he compares the fragrance of the tresses to the fragrance of the forest-reserve of one of his patrons, say Ori :

> "Her tresses smell like the fragrant breeze that
> blows having traversed through the forest-park
> of Ori of the liberal hand and the valiant chariot"
> (*Kur.*, 199).

The tresses of a heroine are compared sometimes to a flourishing city, but often to the wavy river sand, or the wavy dry bed of a river. The waves of her tresses are thus compared to the side-bed, of not any river, but one that the poet would like to extol, say the ford of the Kaveri at Uranthai, the capital of the Colas or the banks of the Vaigai near Kudal.[3]

Potiyil, one of the peaks of the Western Ghats, stands like a lofty sentinel in the Southern portion of the range. The sandal-wood that grows on this mountain and these ranges has been always a favourite term of comparison with poets including Kalidasa. The hill would seem to have been in-

2. *Kur*; 328; 393; *Agam* 36; 45; 209; 253; 256.
3. *Puram;* 347, 5-6.

cluded for sometime within the kingdom belonging to chiefs of the Ay family. The heroine is said to be as fragrant as the sandal-wood, or the Vengai and *kanthal of Ay's Potiyil,* and cooler than its water-lilies."[4]

The eyes of a heroine are usually compared to neydal blooms or to water-lilies. But often the flowers are specified as belonging to the lakes or tanks of some historic place or famed ruler. Thus, in a poem of the *Agananuru* collection, the eyes are compared to the neydal blooms of a maritime lake (கழி) bordering the sea near Korkai, the emporium of the Pandyans.[5] Paranar, in another poem of the same collection after having enumerated the various difficulties and obstacles that a hero has to overcome to keep a tryst with his heroine concludes saying that they are as difficult to overcome as the outer defences and the defence-forests of Tittan's Uraiyur.[6]

> "நொச்சி வேலித் தித்த னுறந்தைக்
> கன்முதிர் புறங்காட் டன்ன
> பன்முட் டின்றால் தோழிநங் களவே"

Another poet compares the forlorn appearance of the heroine on learning of the impending departure of the hero, to the groves around the Kaveri :—

> "Thy forehead is like unto the honey-smelling
> groves floored with white sand on the tender
> shores of the great river. After the March
> festival, under the dense trees rich with
> foliage and flowers may be seen the ashes
> of fires kindled by those who have been feasting.
> As desolate as the grove without people art thou.
> Your shoulders too, once resembling the elegant
> and stately bamboos that grow on the flanks of
> the *Potiyil* hill that belongs to the Pandyan,
> master of the Southern sea rich in peerless pearls,
> have also lost their pristine elegance." (*Agam* ; 137).

And thus numerous examples may be given of the brief but significant ways in which history and Nature and personal

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4. *Kur*; 84.
5. *Agam*;,130. Cfr: *Agam*; 47, 69.
6. *Agam*; 122, 21-23

association are linked together by the Tamil poets in the composition of imagery. As great an attraction for them was, however, to consider an ethical aspect in Nature, often based on historical and personal association.

The Tamils were always a hard-working and industrious people. The fertility of the soil was greater in the Cangam period than now, but was not so great as to require much less energy and industry on the part of cultivators than are required at present.

It happened that Nature made up by providing an abundance of luxury goods in exchange for what she exacted by labour from the Tamils. The hills of Tamil Nad provided pepper, cinnamon and other spices ; her seas gave pearls and red coral; her forests yielded metals and precious stones. Therefore, as early as historical records go the Tamils have distinguished themselves as traders, with China to the East, with Mesopotamia, Egypt and the Roman Empire to the West.They made the most of what Nature gave them, and their commerce added not a little to the wealth of their country.[7]

The Tamils were also known for their spirit of warfare. The chiefs and kings fought intermittently among themselves, and as it happens when war and diplomacy and alliances have become common, they developed early a very honourable code of warfare.

Their commerce with foreigners, and their warfare made them develop high ethical standards of conduct. Honesty, truthfulness, bravery, love of honour, are virtues without which no people may distinguish themselves in trade or war. Mercy and sympathy are also qualities which are natural to those who have attained a position of permanent wealth and to the warrior used to the miseries of the battle-field. Hence the repeated emphasis in Tamil literature on the right use of wealth by distributing it to the poor and the needy.

Cangam literature is nearly one-fourth ethical if you consider the didactic poems as well as those that personify and illustrate virtuous deeds and allude to virtuous persons.

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7. E. H. WARMINGTON, *The commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge, 1928.

"Ethics in Cangam literature" would certainly form enough matter for a voluminous study. Here is a typical poem of our four lines by Avvai, "The Tamil Sappho."

"Land whether it be high or low, cultivated or uncultivated may be called good not because it yields good crops, but because it yields good inhabitants."[8] And here is a typical comparison where a certain lover's words are said to be as faultless and truc as the arrows shot by the archers of the army chief, Palyan.

"கொற்றச் சோழர் கொங்கர்ப் பணீஇயர்
வெண்கோட் டியானைப் போஎர் கிழவோன்
பழையன் வேல்வாய்த் தன்னநின்
பிழையா நன்மொழி தேறிய இவட்கே"

Nar ; 10, 6-9.

Tamil poetry abounds with passages in which the fertility of a region or kingdoms, unfailing rains, well-watered rivers, abundance of birds and beasts and general prosperity are ascribed to the righteous rule of the sovereign. The panegyric poems of the *Pattupattu*, the *Patirruppattu* and the *Purananuru* are impregnated with this idea. The praise of a sovereign's rule meant the praise of the hills, the rivers and the general beauty and fertility of his kingdom.[9] Sometimes the panegyrics assume a language reminiscent of Vergil in the fourth eclogue. Describing the region of Ilanthirayan, the poet says, "in his land there are no marauders that attack way-farers to rob them of their goods. Peals of thunder you will not hear ; the serpent will not kill, nor the forest animals hurt. Proceed, therefore, as you will."[10]

When praising sovereigns, the roar of the ocean or the cataract, and the sound of thunder are said to be the drums that announce his greatness. The heights of the mountains bespeak the heights of greatness achieved by him. The streams that descend the mountain sides may be seem shimmering silverlike from far and wide ; they are the silver banners that proclaim his victories and his unrivalled prowess in war.[11]

8. *Puram;* 187.
9. E. G. *Puram* ; 143, 12, "*நின்னு நின் மலையும் பாட*"; *Puram;* 231 ff; *Maduraikanchi;* 105 ff; *Patir;* 28.
10. *Perumpan;* 40-43.
11. *Patir;* 69, 78; *Agam;* 162, 358; *Patir,* 70, 22; *Puram;* 126, 8.

The waters even in the biggest and deepest of his rivers are so clear that ornaments that have fallen off from those sporting in the river may be seen lying deep down on the sands. The clear waters are an indication of the unsullied record of his rule.[12] This mode of praise occurs in the panegyric poetry, both in explicit terms and by suggestion.

Nature's reflection of righteousness is not due to the actions of the sovereign alone. It may be due to deeds of individual chiefs as well as the deeds of a people of the entire village. An amusing and significant poem of the *Kali* odes presents a young lady and her companion as apparently wondering that Nature could be so luxuriant in the country of her lover who has not kept his tryst. The inference is that since he has not kept his word he cannot be an upright man, and consequently Nature cannot appear lovely in his land.

> "What! The river glimmers! Can it truly glimmer in the land of one who is not true to his promises, who has not kept his word? What! the rain cloud wanders, does truly the rain cloud wander in the land of who is the cause of wasting form?"
>
> "இலங்கு மருவித் திலங்கு மருவித்தே
> வானி னிலங்கு மருவித்தே தானுற்ற
> சூள்பேணான் பொய்த்தான் மலை"

She expresses her surprise in similar language about these beauteous and beneficient aspects of Nature, for she would expect that the land of one who has been false to her would be deprived of Nature's beauty and Nature's bounty.[13]

Another poem in the same collection is an imaginary exhortation to relatives of a young lady not to refuse her hand in marriage to the young man who has rescued her from being swept away by the waters of a river. In rescuing her, the young man has had to clasp her to himself, and according to the Tamil code, it was but proper to get her married to the one who was first to touch her. It was the ancient ideal that a young lady should not touch or be touched by anyone else than the one who was to be her partner in life. The speaker who counsels her people threatens that unless pro-

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12. *Patir;* 86.
13. *Kali;* 41, 42.

priety is observed in this regard and the young lady given in wedlock to the one who had clasped her for the first time,

> "The Valli will not yield its roots, the hilltops
> will not yield honey, the garden pannicum will
> not bear fruit because the mountain dwellers
> have observed that which is evil."
> "In the mountain summits which attract the eye,
> and there the *gloriosa superba* casts around
> its fragrance, the bows of the archers fail
> not just because their wives are devoted
> exclusively to their sires."

The inference in the latter part is that the hunters in the hills will not be successful in obtaining food with the bow and arrow if they do not regard the propriety regarding the wedlock in question.[14] Such is the power of chastity, that a chaste maid or a chaste wife could merit seasonal rains for her village.[15] Such is the power of the prayer of these good men that their devotions bring rain when they are in need, and keep away the rain clouds when it threatens to rain too much.[16]

Vergil enunciated a principle of poetry much in vogue among the ancients when he said that what is described ought to correspond to the dignity of the theme or the hero -*si canimus silvas, silvae sinte consule dignae.* The Tamil poets took pains to describe everything noble even in the landscape of imaginary heroes. In love poems, the heroes and heroines may be real or imaginary. The poet may have in mind actual incidents from life or he may be describing incidents his poetic fancy has built up. The heroes and heroines are depicted as ideal persons for Tolkappiyar and the poets believed in another principle enunciated also by Aristotle that a class is represented by the best of its type.

They chose the best of the types they described, and the nobility of the landscape is always made to reflect the nobility of character of their heroes.

Descriptions and allusions to Nature contain historical references of a kind which allude to the goodness, gentleness

14. *Kali;* 39.
15. *Kali;* 19, 20 : "வான் தருங் கற்பினள்" *Kali;* 39, 6.
16. *Puram;* 143; 1-3.

and kindness of the historical heroes. When Shakespeare in *Coriolanus* refers to Valeria as—

> " chaste as the icicle
> That's curdied by the frost from purest snow
> And hangs on Dian's temple "

he no doubt meant that ice, pure everywhere, becomes purer by association with the temple of Diana at Ephesus, the celebrated edifice in honour of the goddess of chastity.[17] The Tamil poets work in similar associations where possible. The eyes of a lady are compared to the round water-lilies. A Tamil poet would not be satisfied with any simile in general ; he would want a historical simile. He would rather refer to the water-lilies growing in the region of a particular king or chief. This topical and specific setting served a double purpose, namely to praise the region, or its ruler, as well as to say that the flowers in the particular region would be lovelier because of the goodness and righteousness of the persons associated with it. The latter inference is derived from the historical allusion and the lesson is that the beauty of a landscape is commensurate with the moral beauty and ethical ideals of its rulers and citizens. While in *puram* poetry such assertions are directly made as may be seen in any panegyric poem, in agam poetry they are alluded or suggested as in the examples that follow.

The taste of water after eating the goose-berry is sweet. However, the poet thinks that it will be sweeter after eating of the goose-berry in Pannan's garden, for he is one who does not live for himself but for others.[18]

Pari, one of the last seven patrons of poets, had a picturesque lake in the hilly territory of which he was chief. The water-flowers that bloomed there are sometime objects of comparison. In a poem in which a lover is remonstrated for his coldness and indifference towards his beloved, the lady's nurse addresses him in these words :—

> " Once, even if my lady had offered you the green
> fruit of the margosa, you would have received it.
> as sweetest sugar. But now, were she to give you

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17. *Coriolanus*, V, III, 65-67.

18. *Agam;* 54.

> even the clearest water of a January morning from the cool lake of *Pari's* hill, it might scald you and taste bitter. Such is your wavering love."

Waters on a January morning would be cool and crystal-clear in all lakes. Many lakes could have been taken as a term of comparison in the Tamil country. But here the poet pays a compliment to Pari as well as teaches a moral lesson. Waters in Pari's territory ought to be clearer because he has a clear and unsullied record, and his lake is cooler because he refreshes with his giving all those who have recourse to him.[19] Similarly, the flowers of his lake are more fragrant, and the poet would compare the heroine's fragrance, not to any flower in general, but to the flowers of Pari's lake, or to the flowers that bloom on Sirumalai of the Pandyans, or on the hill of Ori, the beneficient chief, or of Ay.[20]

Much that was ethical entered also into the world of Tamil imagery. A few examples will suffice. The bee goes from flower to flower. Having spent the day among aquatic flowers, when the sun sets and the aquatic flowers close their petals, the bee betakes itself to the flowers on creepers and branches which flower at night. The bees that abandon the lotus and the water-lily in the evening for the jasmine and the kantal reminds the poet of those who forsake the friendship of men whose wealth and influence are on the decrease.[21] Another poet imagines a trial of strength between a rogue elephant and a tiger. To the bee the tiger's spots seem to be flowers of the vengai. It flies to and fro, between the elephant and the tiger, trying to taste of the elephant's rut, as well as of what it imagines to be the flowers of the vengai. The bee reminds the poet of those peace-makers who seek to bring together two contending armies or two opposing parties.[22]

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19. *Kur;* 19.
20. Cf. *Agam;* 47, 69, 78.
21. *Agam;;* 71, 1-4.

> "நிறைந்தோர்த் தேரும் நெஞ்சமொடு குறைந்தோர்
> பயனின் மையிற் பற்றுவிட் டொரூஉம்
> நயனின் மாக்கள் போல வண்டினம்
> சுனைப்பூ நீத்துச் சினைப்பூப் படர"

22. *Kali;* 46.

For wealth of Nature imagery the *kali* odes occupy a very prominent place in Cangam literature. In the kali odes of the *palai class* the sun is represented as cruel as a sovereign that because of the evil influence of his minister has become an unjust ruler. On the other hand in a neydal kali where Nature is considered under a different aspect, the sun is compared to a victorious and virtuous king proceeding to another world to enjoy the fruits of his good deeds.[23]

Trees in the *palai* region are said to be dried up like the tree under which has sat a man that hath borne false testimony.[24] They are also said to be devoid of fruits and leaves like a young man whose youth has passed a lonely existence. Like the petty-minded man whose wealth does not benefit those who approach it, and like the end of him that lives a life of wrong-doing which ends in self destruction, the tree too dries up even to its very roots.[25] The luxuriant trees, on the other hand, that border rivers and tanks are suitable similies for those who flourish because they share their wealth with the poor and the needy.

"The trees on the well watered river banks grew like the wealth of him that gives without stint, and lives a virtuous life doing no evil to others." (*Kali* : 27, 1-2)

"The trees were heavy with flowers like the bounty of him who realises the transitoriness of life" (Kali ; 32, 11)

"Like the wealth of the bountiful man, the trees bloomed ; like the effortless case of those who enjoy the wealth of such a man, the bees sported among the flowers" (*Kali* ; 35, 1 - 2).

The petals of the *gloriosa superba* are compared to women's fingers and the entire flower, especially before it has unfolded itself is compared to the two hands joined in an attitude of supplication. Trees and plants that are bent or drooping are compared to the bent head and shy posture of wise and learned men who have heard their own praise spoken in their presence.[26]

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23. Compare *Kali* 13 with *Kali* 118.
24. *Kali;* 34, 10.
25. *Kali;* 10.
26. *Kali;* 119.

From animals too the Tamil poets learned wisdom. The hero as well as the heroine recall their own course of love when they observe what part love plays in the behaviour of animals. The elephant that strokes with its trunk the back of its mate or helps it to feed on bamboo shoots, the deer calling unto deer, the dove cooing unto dove, the buffalo, the crab, all these teach them or remind them of the affectionate relation that should exist between those who are pledged to each other.

Ancient Political thought in the Kural

P. R. PAKRISANKAR, M.A., B.L.

MORE THAN once in the history of discovery, fortuitous accidents and the expert's uncanny instinct to nose out things have saved for humanity such precious books as Gaius' *Institutes* or Kautilya's Arthasastra; and more than once in the history of human folly books of rare merit have been irretrievably lost; but seldom, very seldom indeed has a book been read and reread and its message laboriously misunderstood. This, the Kural owes to its assiduous commentators. The surest way to get a book neglected and relegate it to the limbo of forgetfulness is to call it "A Hand book of Ethics or Morals." Then nobody takes the trouble to look into it and everybody agrees "it is just fine and there is nothing like it." It is unfortunate that a book (namely *Kural*) which combines the Confucian mundane wisdom with Taoian highthinking without the hundrumness of the one or the chronic mysticism of the other, and shares with the *Republic* its utopian odour to create an order, and lacks both the detailed concreteness and the smug machiavellinism of the *Arthasastra,* should have received such scant attention from political thinkers. The Author of "Ancient Indian polity," a book from the Madras University is apparently so much engrossed in committing poor Indian polity to a one and only source that he forgets that there is *Kural* at hand to give him a fuller picture and saner perspective of what he seeks. The source that he is at pains to explore and exploit is *Arthasastra* which enshrines the glorious and resplendent civilisation that has completely conquered North India. *Kural* which is decidedly later in time represents an attempt by a creative individual to transfigure and sublimate the dis-integrating civilisation of the South. Here I like to quote, though I do not fully share his views, Mr. Sivaraja Pillai of Madras University who says in his "*Chronology of the*

Tamils." "Except for its prehistoric remains of which the recent finds in Mohanjodharo and Harappa form probably but a part, North India has been literally swept clean of its Dravidian antiquities by the great Aryan flood. That did not and could not happen in the South. Here the so called Aryanisation seems to have assumed a milder form ; its mighty waves have been splintered into ripples here. But even then it did not fail to spread a somewhat thick scoria of religious odour over the whole face of Dravidian life and spiritual outlook. This was presumably effected by the Aryan alliance with the Kingships raised on the ruins of the ancient village communities of Dravidian India and by the use of political power as an engine for engrafting new beliefs and practice on the old stem."

This might be true before the time of the *Kural;* but certainly not when *Kural* was being written. Aryanisation and to use A. J. Toynbee's words, "Racial discrimination" as exemplified in the caste system is complete. Forces of the north had completely conquered the south. *Kural* was a very conscious gesture of defiance against this system of caste and religious hierarchy and an attempt, if possible, to revive the solid peasant civilisation of the olden days. Toynbee in his study agrees with the common view that the "earliest known-revolts against caste are those of Mahavira the founder of Jainism and Buddha, both about 500 B. C." If either Buddhism or Jainism had succeeded in the Indic world caste might have been got rid of. Though they advocated secession from Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism failed. And Valluvar's (*viz.* the author of Kural) attempt at rationalised archaism also failed miserably. Because these great prophets along with other modern historians failed to construe and interpret Indian history in sociological and racial terms. They thought of caste as the merest stratification and that the Hindu society had been statically petrified along those lines. Unexpectedly its dynamism overwhelmed and overcame them. In each and every institutions of Society, in its religion, magic and ritual, in its literature, art and education, in its mythology, morality, metaphysics and ideology, what has been perpetuated in caste in an extreme form, found reflection, exposition and embodiment. Caste is no symbiosis or superimposition of conflicting civilisa-

tions but its rationable is the sole detriment of all life, its scope, achievement and goal. Valluvar's lone voice that all are born equal, only deeds and deserts differ — was a little startling in its freshness at that age, though utterly futile. Valluvar's assurance to the king of the land that his sceptre precedes everything and state comes first even before vedas and sasthras, his endeavour to get the peasant's hearing by eulogising agriculture as the primary axis of worlds economy — all these illustrate the desperate response of the author's anguished soul to the challange of the cast-iron social milieu in whose meshes, like everybody else, he is inextricably caught.

Mr. V. R. R. Dikshidar in his latest book when translating 543 Kural as "The king's sceptre is the standing proof of Brahminical books and their teachings," commits a very reasonable mistake. Of course Valluvar meant exactly the opposite. If it is granted that this kural is rightly translated, I am fortified in my analysis of history though my characterisation of Valluvar would lack precision. I think however, the translator, himself a historian, is having a subconscious orientation towards true historical position (as I have just described) and makes Valluvar his mouth-piece. To illustrate, against what tendency in kings and princes the *Kural* is arguing, I like to quote Mr. K. V. Rangasamy Ayyengar of ancient Indian polity. "We shall by analogy," he says "be able to realise the transforming influence of Brahmnic law and polity in ancient India. That these inferences are not based entirely on analogy or surmise will also be clear if we take into further consideration the imposing series of references in our inscriptions and in the literature of India and Ceylon from the Gupta period down to the threshold of modern times — in which the rulers of different parts of India living in different times, often rulers of non-Aryan descent display keen anxiety to be remembered by posterity as those who strictly carried out the precepts laid down by Manu, the Dharmasastras, and the Nitisastras."

Before closing this subject of the historical role of Valluvar's thought, I like to mention how preposterously inapt such materialistic conception of history and its determinism seems to us when applied to our society. These are the words of Marx. "The phantasmagorias in the human brain are

enforced supplements of man's material vital process. Morality, religion *etc,* in general with their appropriate forms of consciousness thus forfeit the semblance of independence."

Valluvar is fully alive to this vital process of material production in society and assigns to it its legitimate perspective. To him poverty is not merely something to be pitied, it is perhaps the greatest evil that one could be afflicted with on earth and as a remedy he *suavely* suggests that there are wrongs to be set right. About the peasant he says that every one including kings must prostrate themselves before him because he is the giver of food. Notwithstanding all these there are some other things like individual self respect and social *dharma* or justice which he values more.

J. B. Bury, the historian is reported to have said "The forms of Government which are commonly classed as absolute monarchies have not received the same attention or been so carefully analysed as republics and constitutional monarchies" . Indeed it is so. The monarchical institutions portrayed in *Kural* is neither despotic nor autocratic. There are so many warnings in the name of justice and equity to the monarch, adequate safeguards against misrule, severe injunctions never to disobey that blend of custom, law and morality which in Tamil is called "*Aram*" (Justice) (which should not be confused with Dharma of Sanskrit). One wonders whether Valluvar is trying to convey in a nebulous way the juristic conception of the state and hoists sovereignity on to the wisdom and conscience of society viz. "*Aram*"

His analysis of state, society and government which he respectively calls as "Arasu" "Nadu" and Senkonman" leave nothing to be desired and indeed can stand comparison with the best literature of anytime. There is the King's ministry to advise and act in his name. There is also a council of elders whose help the king may seek in times of stress and strain. The other essential departments of government, the court, the corps of diplomats, the standing army, forts and police are shrewdly discussed and vividly portrayed. Ofcourse Valluvar is quite oblivious that there could be other forms of government or that there could be other forms of schism in the body social as existed elsewhere. It is only natural, that his thought conditioned by his environment was

chiefly concerned with the greatest schism of caste hegemony. Perhaps this should explain the mystery of centuries of political stagnation, and dearth of imaginative ventures into the fields of political philosophy in our land. Mr. K. V. Rangasamy Aiyangar in Ancient Indian Polity says :

"The Brahmans class formed a privileged body in some respects like the clergy in Medieval Europe. But the Brahmins did not form a state within the state because they had no organisation fitting them to act together for common purpose under acknowledged leaders. Thus we arrive at the negative conclusion that neither theocratic nor sacerdotal would be appropriate terms to describe our old polity by." Here the learned author misses the obvious explanation. They were not a state within the state simply because they did not recognise a sovereign state outside themselves. They might not have had an organisation in the ordinary sense of the term. They had something better than that — they had the caste hierarchy at their command. Ancient Indian polity is certainly not theocratical. Nobody would call the serving of the purposes of a dominent minority theocratical. Religion, everything else becomes instrumental.

Turning back to *Kural,* we find nothing in it that could be called utopian with ethereal standardisations or mere wish fulfilment. In fact it is characterised by a peculiar sense of robus realism of right proportions that does not descend to despicable depths of vulgarism or immorality. In this it stands utterly contrasted with *Arthasastra.*

To quote from *Arthasastra* : "The king is practically an autocrat who is generally inaccesible, showing himself to the people only once in a month or two in order to prevent disturbances caused by rumours of his death (Stalin might have read this in addition to his catechism on Marx). He is so removed from the common folk that he is to converse with envoys and subjects only through his ministers. He is constantly guarded by troops of women armed with bows. Much importance is attached to high birth. The position of the ruler is so exalted that impalement is the punishment appointed for a man who merely teases even the king's animals. But at the same time the king lives in an atmosphere of suspicion and treachery guarding himself even from his family, for "princes like crabs, have a well known trait of eating

up their parents, and confiding rulers have come to grief." Let us now quote from *Thirukkural*. 'The king is impartial and just. He must protect his people. But that is no excuse for his maltreating them. He must take paths to find out and punish evil doers, it is something like the peasant weeding out his fertile field." It is my opinion that Valluvar had read Kautilya and read him to advantage. There are 10 couplets dealing with who a "Duta" is, what his duties are and relations with the princes. They form such a quintessence of diplomatic wisdom and foresight that every one of the ambassadors of our government, should be admonished on penalty of forefeiture of their office to get them by heart and recite them before going to bed. Here again *Arthasastra* runs true to form. 'Intrigue, sowing dissensions among friends, fetching secret force, easing away by stealth relatives and gems, gathering information about spies, breaking of treaties of peace — these are few of the duties of an envoy which the *Kural* definitely does not mention but Kautilya recommends. But undoubtedly *Arthasastra* is more practical or scientific — if you will. *Kural* is cursed with the Tamilians' vice of vague generalisation and sterile abstraction. Even here the advantages are not all on one side. For instance talking on medicine *Kural* expatiates about balanced food, methods of hygiene, diagnosis and clinics, which are eternally true. In a like instance the author of *Arthasastra scrupulously* puts down how may cat's eye and owl'e eye be used in a powder to make one see in the dark or to make one visible to others. Sometimes, I think it is wise if we leave out details such as these, especially when we mean something for posterity.

Of course Valluvar cannot be compared with Machiavelli. I remember Morea, the Italian political thinker, writing in his book "Ruling Class" that this fashion of overrating Machiavelli something like applauding smart alec of Big Business for having written an economic treatise from his experience of the Stock Exchange. *Kural* is certainly not meant for the Bourgeois but only for Asoka and Aureliuses. So what *kural* loses in its positivism it more than makes up in its essential morality and nationality, in its breadth of vision and depth of thought.

After another searching and elaborate enquiry into Greek political ideas, E. L. Myers says that "they resulted from

an unusually successful attempt to solve the problem of living, not merely in so far as to maintain life with a fair degree of security against external and internal dangers but in the sense that the life so maintained was a good life with an ideal of behaviour and of well-being in view, and a large measure of success in attaining. That ideal was a high one, nothing less than independance in its two aspects of self-sufficiency and self-mastery, reasonable control over goods and physical circumstances of self-control no less guided by reason in the corporate enjoyment of the fruits of co-operative effort." That in few words is the Greek view of life. That in few words is Valluvar's view of life also and it finds its fullest vesture, in the short couplets that he wove out of the finest threads of reason and justice. Plato created his REPUBLIC to spite Athenian Democracy and to show off Sparta. Aristotle failed to realise the momentous crisis that was overtaking his city-state when he sat composing his meticulous work. Valluvar sang his Kural fully believing in humanity, in its roll, in its achievements and in its destiny. He was not a Plato of Tamilians for he never surveyed the political world from a balloon in the air. He analysed the components that constitute a state — a good state — so fully and systematically that he can be termed more Aristotelian than Platonic.

Jain Vestiges in Coimbatore District

M. AROKIASWAMI, M. A., Ph. D.

COIMBATORE, the headquarters of the district which goes by its name in the State of Madras, is well-known to-day as the "Manchester of South India." There is perhaps not another place in the whole of this region to equal it not only in the numerous spinning and weaving mills it possesses but also in the general standard of wealth, health civilisation and culture. But few are interested in studying the history of this district and particularly the development of culture in this area. Of the era preceding the period of British occupation of the district, which began in 1799, particularly little or nothing is known.

In this paper I propose to make an enquiry into a subject which forms part of a larger whole, *viz.*, the cultural development of the Coimbatore region in early times and the particular subject for enquiry here is an estimate of the Jain contribution to this quota. So many vestiges of Jainism are to be found in this district that there is no doubt about the great influence this religion must have exerted over the people of this region in early times. That it must have been much more than any one would suspect is certain. Names of places like Seenapuram clearly remind one of the early Jain influence over the region ; while old Jain shrines found in places like Vijayamangalam, Tirumurthimalai and Karur bear an equally strong evidence to the same. A figure of the Jain Thrithankara is found in Tirumurthimalai ; and a number of Jain beds are found to this day in Arunattarmalai in Karur Taluk while in Arasannamalai near Vijayamangalam the Neminatha temple has been now converted into a Vinayaka temple. Not only this. The district of Coimbatore in early times seems to

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have been the home of several Jain scholars, not the least of whom was the great Bavanandi, the author of the celebrated Tamil grammar, *Nannul,* who seems to have lived in the region of Vijayamangalam in Erode Taluk.

It is impossible for us to explain these vestiges unless we postulate a period of Jain glory in the district at some time during its sojourn in South India. The *Kongadesarajakkal*, a XVII century Tamil Mss., which has been recently edited by Mr. C. M. Ramachandran Chettiar, Advocate, Coimbatore,[1] brings to light a set of seven rulers called Rattas (*Rashtrakutas ?*) in this region during the period between 250 A.D. and 400 A.D. Many if not all of them are represented in this work as professors and strong supporters of Jainism.[2] In the reign of the fourth ruler, Govindaraya, a grant to the Jain Arishtanna is mentioned and in that of the sixth ruler, Kannaradeva, the names of three great Jain theologians, of whom one Naganandi is mentioned by name, are referred to.[3]

The history of the origin of the Ganga dynasty of Mysore indicates even more clearly how deep-rooted was Jainism in the district of Coimbatore in early times. It would appear that in the closing years of the IV century A.D., King Padmanabha of the Gangas had to send his two sons, Dadiga and Madhava to the south by way of preparing himself to meet his enemy, King Mahipala of Ujjain.[4] The rest of the narration as found in Rice's words is as follows :

> " When they arrived at Perur, which is still distinguished from other Perurs as Ganga-Perur (in Cuddapah district), they met there the Jain Achariya Simhanandi. He was interested in the story of these Ganga princes and taking them by the hand, gave them instruction and training and eventually procured for them a kingdom."[5]

Many Ganga records like the Udayendiram plates of Prithvipati II, the Kudlur grant of Marasimha and the Santara inscription on the Huncha stone* bear clear evidence to the fact that Simhanandi gave them a kingdom and that he

1 Madras Govt. Oriental Series, VI, 1950.
2 Ibid., pp. 1-2.
3 Ibid.
4 Rice; Mysore and Coorg; p. 31.
5 Rice : op., cit., loc., cit.

was a reputed Jain teacher. The last mentioned record indeed refers to him as "the achariya who made the Ganga kingdom.":

"Ganga-rajyamam madida Simhànandy acharyya."[6] Indrabhuti in his *Samayabhushana* names him as a great poet to be kept on par with Elacharya and Pujyapada.[7] Still, no better description can be given of Simhanandi than what is found in the Jaina record near the Siddhesvara temple at Kallurgudda in Shimoga Taluk :

> "The Vijaya or victory to the farthest shore of learning, the full moon to the ocean of the Jaina congregation, possessed of patience and all the ten excellent qualities, his good life, a secure wealth, rejoicing in the modest, his fame extending to the four oceans, keeping at a distance from the evil, a sun in the sky of the Kranurgana, devoted to the performance of the twelve kinds of penance, promoter of the Ganga kingdom—Sri Simhanandiacharyya."[8]

On the other hand we owe to the evidence of inscriptional records like those of the Parsvanathi Basti at Sravana Belgola and others to be seen at Kallurgudda and Purale in Shimoga Taluk that Madhava definitely came under the influence of Simhanandi, who initiated him into Jain doctrines and conferred on him a kingdom on condition that he always took care to uphold that Faith throughout its confines.[9] The latter two give a detailed account of this origin of the Ganga Kingdom, which deserves to be quoted at least in part, as it gives one an idea of the depth of Jain influence that ruled over the region where the Ganga kingdom was founded :

> "On Madhava impressing him with his extraordinary energy . . . Simhanandi made a coronet of the petals of the Karnikara flowers bound it on Madhava's head, gave them (the two brothers) the dominion of all the earth, presented them with a flag made from his peacock fan and furnished them with attendants, elephants

6 EC., VIII, Nr. 35.
7 IA., XII, 20.
8 EC., VII, Sh. 4
9 Ibid, also 64.

and horses. Along with these he gave them also the following advice: 'If you fail in what you have promised, if you do not approve the Jina sasana; if you seize the wives of others; if you indulge in wine and flesh; if you form relationship with the low; if you give not your wealth to the needy; if you flee from the field or battle—your race will go to ruin.

The question that has to be decided here is the identification of Perur mentioned in Ganga records. Taken in conjunction with the history of the Rattas, the *Kongadesarajakkal* furnishes proof that it was on their fall that the Gangas rose to power and began ruling from Skandapura in Kongudesa (which is the ancient name for the territory comprising the modern districts of Coimbatore and Salem). The chronicle would even inform us that the last Ratta ruler changed his religion from Jainism to Saivism and that was the cause of his downfall. Further, all the early activities of Konganivarman—as the first historical ruler of the Ganga house becomes known in all the records of this dynasty—are confined to this Kongudesa.[10] It is true that we lack definite epigraphic evidence in support of this, which we have mainly only from the Tamil chronicle above referred to. But it must be remembered that in the first place we have only a few records for the Ganga period here referred to; and even the few references that we have to the early grants of the Gangas seem to refer only to places in Coimbatore district. Such are places like "*Kudluru*" to the west of the Totla and east of "*Marukarevisaya*", in which the names of Kudluru and Marukarevisaya are easily identifiable with the present Gudalur and Madukarai in this area.[11]

The conclusion naturally follows that Perur here referred to as the spot on which Madhava was initiated into Jainism and conferred a kingdom on condition that he upheld it through all its confines must be the Perur within 3 miles from Coimbatore. We have numerous evidences to show that at the time referred to and for long afterwards this Perur was indeed an important place. The place referred to by this

10 Kongadesarajakkal (Or. Mss. Edn.) pp. 2-3.

11 Kudaluru grant of Madhavavarman; MAR., 1930.

name cannot be the Perur in Cuddapah district, as Rice surmises, where no Jain remains are to be found. The tradition is that Dadiga and Madhava were sent to the south of Mysore, as already indicated. Further, the very title assumed by the first ruler as Madhava *Konganivarman* seems to give an unmistakable proof of this conclusion, since as the *Kongadesarajakkal* aptly remarks :

> " As wealth, the Kongu country and great
> munificence were possessed by him he was
> styled Srimat Konganivarman Dharmamahadiraja."[12]

while the mention of Simhanandi as a " person of the southern country" in the inscription at Parsvanatha Basti at Sravana Belgola already referred to, seems to set the seal upon this conclusion.

It is an agreed fact that the canarese country of which modern Mysore forms the crown and centre furnished a home for the religion of Mahavira in the days when it was not very much liked by his own countrymen of the north. The *Brihatkatha* of Harisena clearly refers to the migration of the Bhadrabahu mission from Mysore to Punnata in the years following the death of Chandragupta Maurya.[13] Historians are not yet agreed as to what country is meant by the name, 'Punnata.' All available evidences seem to point to the region of S. Coorg and N. Coimbatore district as the region designated as 'Punnata' by Harisena, so that it would appear that a portion at least of the modern district of Coimbatore was the central hearth of Jainism even before the beginning of the Christian era.

A copper plate grant of the Ganga King Durvaniti seems to give a direct clue to this identification, when it refers to the King's conquest of Punnata in his 20th. regnal year.[14] On the other hand, the Komaralingam copper plates of the Punnata King Ravidatta indicate the occupation of the Kingdom by Durvaniti by positing a break in the regular line of Punnata rulers.[15] The latter plates record the grant of the village of Pungisoge by Ravidatta while on his victorious

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12 Kongadesarajakkal (Taylor's trans.); MJLS., XIV.
13 Rice; Mysore Inscriptions, p. 146; IA., XVIII, 366.
14 MAR., 1916.
15 IA., XVIII, 362.

march and in his camp at Kirtipura — a place generally identified in the southern portion of modern Mysore. Whatever be the strength of this identification, it cannot be definitely said what region was comprised in this kingdom of Punnata.

In the first place, it must be remembered that Kirtipura was not its capital, as has often been maintained by writers, but only a camp in the victorious march of King Ravidatta. It is quite possible that he had undertaken a campaign in the attempt to strengthen his possessions, which had suffered during the occupation of Durvaniti. The mention of various grants made on the occasion from Kirtipura of places like Kolur, Kodamuku etc., "to persons to whom they belonged," as the grant clearly mentions, only confirm this conclusion. Further, the copper plate grant which gives evidence here is obtained from the village of Komaralingam in the Udumalpet Taluk in the modern district of Coimbatore; and Ptolemy designates a country called 'Ponnuta' as a "land of beryls," so much found in the Kangayam area of the same district. Besides, the donor of the grant, Ravidatta, expressly states that he is making it with the permission of the Cheramman :

> "While his, Ravidatta's, victorious camp
> is at the town of Kirtipura, which is the
> best of towns, with the permission of Cheramma(n)
> ......the village known as Pungisoge in the east
> central desa in the Kudugur nadu which is in the
> Punnadu vishaya has been granted."[16]

As has been already said, several villages like Kolur, Kodamuku, Tanagundur and Elagovanur are mentioned as coming under other grants made on the same occasion. Though these names must still remain unidentified, it is clear that all these places abutted on the Kongu frontier. The location of Pungisoge as mentioned in the above quoted passage, "in the east central desa in the Kudugurnadu (modern Coorg) only supports this conclusion. The name Elagovanur itself suggests the possibility of a location near to if not Coimbatore itself. That Ravidatta was a feudatory of the Cera sovereign of the time is put beyond doubt by the permission he is said to have obtained from the Cheramman for issuing the grants referred to.

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16 Komaralingam Copper plates, 11., 11 ff.

From all these considerations it seems but natural to conclude that the Kingdom of Punnata must have been a small state carved out from parts of S. Mysore and N. Coimbatore during the period of the weak rule of the Gangas over Kongu, possibly immediately after the death of Vishnugopa. This period seems to have offered a golden opportunity for Chera revival. Though silence is no argument the omission of the Chera name in all the victories detailed in the inscriptions of the various Ganga rulers from Kongani I down to Durvaniti is very significant. A few inscriptions from Vellalur in Coimbatore district give the names of two Cera rulers, Kokkandan Viranarayana and Kokkandan Ravikodan who style themselves "sovereign jewels of the luni-solar race.[17] Unfortunately there is no indication about their date, except the fact that the letters of the records are of old archaic characters. On the other hand, the style assumed by the kings, "jewels of the luni-solar race" clearly indicates the Cera-Pandya connections, since the moon (luna) is mentioned. The effective appearance of the Pandya in Kongu occurs only in the VII century AD, so that it may be safely surmised that these inscriptions of the Cera must belong roughly only to this period.

These points of information help us to posit

(*a*) that the Ceras had come on a decline after the era of the sangam age and it helped the rise of ganga power in Kongu and Karnataka ;

(*b*) that the Ceras made attempts to revive in the VII century AD ;

(*c*) that the Vellalur inscriptions record the establishment of Cera power once again in Kongu ;

(*d*) that the line of rulers of the Komaralingam copper plates were Cera feudatories.

From these deductions the identification of the Punnata country seems plausible. It must have been a kingdom subordinate to the Ceras comprising parts of Coorg and Coimbatore district. Ptolemy's description of Punnata as " a land of beryl " seems definitely to point to the region of Kangayam in modern Coimbatore Dist. as lying within the kingdom of

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[17] ARE, 1910 pp. 147-'48.

Punnata.[18] The Mercara copper plates refer to Punnata as a "ten-thousand country;" and, as Mr. Rice contends, it must be the same as the later-day "Padi-Nadu" (Ten country), mentioned in the Yelandur inscription of AD. 1654[19] In locating this region the above mentioned record clearly mentions the place 'Tarapura,' evidently modern Dharapuram in the district of Coimbatore, which is said to lie SE of the kingdom.[20] The fact that equidistant to both Kangayam and Dharapuram (lying within a distance of six miles) is Padiyur, which is still famous for the far-famed beryls of Ptolemy, must be taken as giving a very strong confirmation to the view here advanced. That Coorg and this region of Coimbatore district must have once formed a unit in early times is seen from what the celebrated historian of Mysore, Col. Wilks, records in his "History of Mysore":

> "In the southern part of Mysore the Tamil language is at this day named the *Gangee* from being best known to them as the language of the people of Kankayam."[21]

On the other hand, the same Wilks bears testimony to the fact that for some time the Cera king had complete mastery over this region, when he says:

> "Cheran united Kangiam and Salem to the dominions of Kerela of Malabar."[22]

Even the name 'Punnata' can be explained. It seems to be just a corruption of the name, 'Ponnadu' the land of gold. That there was much gold to be had from the region of Coorg and Kongu is unexceptionable. While the Mysore gold mines bear evidence to this in some indirect way, the XVII century Tamil work, *Maduraikalambakam* speaks of the "gold that is found in Konku" (Konguraippon), thus bearing a direct testimony to the Kongu wealth of gold.[23]

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18 McCrindle: Anc. India.

19 Mys. Inss., p. 283, 334.

20 Ibid, p. 334.

21 Wilks, Mysore, p. 4, F. N. 2.

22 op., cit., p. 5.

23 The term Ponnadu seems to have been analogous to the name of the Cola country watered by the Cauvery, *Viz.*, the 'Punalnadu'.

Thus we are able to posit that the region of modern Coimbatore was a central hearth of Jainism in the south at least three centuries before the Christian era and that it continued to be so for a long time afterwards certainly throughout the period of the Ganga rule. An inscription of the XII century while referring to the Hoysala conquest of Kongu under Vishnuvardhana (1120 AD.), speaks of his general in that region, Gangarajah of great fame as "a devout Jain."[24] We need not try to trace the later history of Jainism in Kongu. Probably it came on a period of steady decline from that date onwards. But what has been so far said is enough to explain the numerous Jain vestiges in this region, to be seen to this day.

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[24] See Sastri; Colas, II, i.

Beginnings of Tamil Rule in Ceylon

NALLUR SWAMI S. GNANA PRAKASAR O. M. I.

IN ANCIENT times Ceylon was divided into four provinces, Nagadipa in the North, Kalyani in the South West, Rohana in the South East and Malaya in the Centre. Mediaeval Ceylon consisted of three Ratas or countries: The first was Pihiti or Rajarata, the king's country which almost coincided with the ancient Nagadipa and was situated roughly above the Deduru Oya and Mavaliganga: the second was Maya or Mahaya Rata, the country of the sub-king which was to the south of the Deduru Oya as far as Kaluganga and the third was Ruhuna extending all over the East and South of the Island as cut off by the Kaluganga and Mavaliganga. We have seen in the last Chapter, that the inhabitants of Nagadipa were never fully reconciled to the new belief which came to the firmly established under Devanampiya Tissa (247 - 207 B. C.) In their heart of hearts they clung to their old religion and had constant communication with the Tamils of the main land who were often found in their midst as merchants and dealers. They ever nurtured a spirit of revolt and were only too ready to stretch out a helping hand to any adventurer who would attempt to curb the sovereign power of the Sinhalese. An occasion soon presented itself.

When Suratassa was reigning at Anuradhapura the two Tamils Sena and Guttaka "sons of a freighter who brought horses hither" conquered the king "at the head of a great army." They were evidently from South India and were in the Island as dealers in horses like many other merchants who frequented the country. Where they raised their "great army" we are not told. If that army was not formed of the local Tamils, the latter certainly approved the two Indians seizing the Sinhalese throne. The Mahavamsa itself has but praise for the Tamil rulers. It says that the two brothers

"reigned both together for twenty two years justly."[1] (B. C. 237 - 215) If the usurpers had brought their army from India the chances are that a considerable acession would have been made to the Tamils of the North.

As pointed out by Tennent, there was a reason for the Sinhalese themselves to acquiesce in the rule of this country by Tamils from India which was so often repeated in the course of as many as fifteen centuries. That reason was the intimate relation which originally existed between Tamils and the Sinhalese. "Vijaya himself was connected by maternal descent with the king of Kalinga, now known as the Northern Circars; his second wife was the daughter of the king of Pandya, and the ladies who accompanied her to Ceylon were given in marriage to his ministers and officers.[2] Brito adds these interesting details: The Pandiyan sent out his own maiden daughter with 699 maidens chosen from among his nobility. These 700 ladies landed with their retinue safely at Cottiar. (Cassie Chetty's Gazetteer). The princess was attended by a personal staff of 18 officers of state, 75 menial servants (being horse-keepers, elephant-keepers and charioteers), besides numerous slaves. It may reasonably be assumed that each of these 18 officers was accompanied by his wives and children, his men-servants and maid-servants and his male-slaves and female-slaves. In like manner each of the 699 noble maidens was accompanied by attendants, servants and slaves, of both sexes. And there were also numbers of families of each of the five sorts of tradesmen who came to Ceylon on this occasion. (Rajavali p. 175, Tennent I 458). These facts swell the number of the original Tamil colonists to at least twenty times that of the Magadhi settlers. And it must be borne in mind that the way once made for these colonists was kept open by a communication which Vijaya carried on with Madura during his whole reign of 38 years. He sent pearls and chanks to his father-in-law from time to time of the annual value of two lakhs. Such a communication could not have failed to lead to a continual influx of the Tamils from the continent in his and the succeeding reigns.[3] "Inti-

[1] Mahavamsa Chapter 21

[2] Tennent Ceylon I, 394-5.

[3] Yalpana-Vaipava-malai, p. lv.

mate intercourse and consanguinity, were thus established from the remotest period. Adventurers from the opposite coast were encouraged by the previous settlers."

Such a reason might have naturally suggested itself to Elalan or Elara "a Damila of noble descent" from the Chola country who, only ten years after Asela the Sinhalese successor of Sena and Gultaka was in power, landed at Mahavatutota near Trincomalee with a large army and seized the throne. He reigned forty-four years over the entire Nagadipa or Rajarata, compelling the chieftains of Rohuna and Maya to acknowledge his supremacy and pay him tribute, "He reigned with even justice toward friend and foe" says the Mahavamsa which goes on adding some instances of his absolutely impartial justice : At the head of his bed he had a bell hung up with a long rope so that those who desired a judgement at law might ring it. The king had only one son and one daughter. When once the son of the ruler was going in a car to the Tissa-tank, he killed unintentionally a young calf lying on the road with the mother cow, by driving the wheel over its neck. The cow came and dragged at the bell in bitterness of heart ; and the king caused his son's head to be severed (from his body) with that same wheel." Let us remark that this is a stock incident related in Tamil literature about the mythical Chola king Manu. After relating some other wonderful achievements in his life the Buddhist annalist says about the pious Hindu : "Only because he freed himself from the guilt of walking in the path of evil did this (monarch), though he had not put aside false beliefs, gain such miraculous power ; how should not then an understanding man, established in pure belief, renounce here the guilt of walking in the path of evil ?" Of Elalan the Pujavaliya adds that he established thirty two fortresses in Rajarata and employed twenty great champions.[4] But the allegation that he destroyed religion throughout Lanka can only mean that the inhabitants of his realm began to practise their old religion openly. The Rajavaliya also seems to voice the sentiments of some bigots when it affirms that Elalan "reigned wickedly."[5] (B. C. 205 - 161).

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4 Extracts from the Pujavaliya by Mudlyar B. Gunasekara, p. 15.

5 refer to page 7 of this chapter.

When Dutthagamani had slain Elalan in single combat and ascended the throne, Bhalluka the latter's nephew arrived from India with a following of 60,000 men at arms (or 30,000 according to the Rajavaliya) in response to his uncle's invitation. Learning that Elalan was no more he made a bid for the throne himself, but was defeated and killed.[6] That all his army was slain is doubtless an exaggeration by the Buddhist Chronicles. It is more probable that those who excaped with their lives found an asylum among their kinsmen of the Northern country.

The Rajavaliya mentions a more successful invasion in B.C. 103. "Seven Tamils landed on the Island of Lanka bringing with them 7000 men from the Soli country and drove out king Valagambahu. One of the seven Tamils having pursued the king, carried off his chief queen ; another of them carried off the dish from which the Buddha used to eat. The remaining five Tamils succeeded one another and reigned 14 years."[7]

The same Chronicle records that during the reign of Vankanasika Tissa (A.D. 110-113) a Chola king made a predatory descent on Ceylon and carried away 12,000 Sinhalese as slaves to work on the embankment of the Kavery. Gajabahu 1, the son and the successor of the Sinhalese king, avenged the outrage by invading the Chola country and bringing to Ceylon a large multitude of Cholas together with the redeemed captives. The Cholian Tamils are said to have been established in a number of villages of the Alutkuru Korale where they lost their identity among the Sinhalese inhabitants.[8] This is one of the many instances of infusing fresh Tamil blood into the Sinhalese people. It is also of interest to note that Gajabahu brought with him a jewelled anklet of he Goddess Pattini whose worship he introduced in Ceylon. He is also said to have brought back the bowl relic of the Buddha carried away in the days of king Valagambahu.[9]

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6 Mahavamsa XXV, 77-97.

7 Rajavaliya p. 44.

8 Ibid pp. 44-49.

9 Cf. R. A. S., C. B. Vol. XIII, pp. 144-149. The Cilappatikaram mentions the visit to India of a Gajabahu king of Ceylon but on a friendly mission.

Anuradhapura was again taken by Pandu and five other Tamil chiefs from India in A. D. 436. All Sinhalese noble families fled to Rohana beyond the Mahavali-ganga. The entire land of Rajarata was under Tamil rule for twenty seven years. Five of the invaders occupied the throne one after another, when, Dhatu Sena was able to overpower them at last. With regard to this Sinhalese king's reign Tennent remarks: "Dhatu Sena, after his victory, seems to have made an attempt, though an ineffectual one, to reverse the policy that had operated under his predecessors as an incentive to the immigration of Malabars; settlement and intermarriages had been all along encouraged and even during the recent usurpation, many Sinhalese families of rank had formed connections with the Damilos. The schisms among the Buddhist themselves, tending as they did to engraft Brahmanical rites upon the doctrines of the purer faith, seem to have promoted and matured the intimacy between the two people; some of the Sinhalese kings erected temples to the gods of the Hindus, and the promoters of the Wytulian heresy found a refuge from persecution amongst their sympathisers in the Dekkan."[10]

If we may believe the Vaipava-malai's statement about Kulak-kodan's visit to Trincomalee, it was probably during the Tamil rule of this period that the Vanniyas from India began to colonize the country between Trincomalee and Mantota. The Tamil history mentions the correct date of king Pandu as Saka 358 which works out as A. D. 436. He is made to reign at Anuradhapura, another correct detail. At Trincomalee Kulakkoddu-maharaja repaired the ruined Konesar temple and sending for the Vanniyar from the coast of India put them in charge of the temple and the lands he had alotted for its support. Here Mailvakana-pulavar relates many legendary accounts taken doubtless from the Konesar Kalveddu and the Vijaya[11] but the central fact of the Vanniyas being connected with the Konesar temple seems historical. In India they were a fighting caste. Probably large contingents of them had accompanied the Tamil invaders at various times and remained behind. Later, they set themselves up as petty chiefs in various parts of the north, some of them be-

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10 Tennent I, 397-8.

11 Vaipava-malai p. 4-8.

coming or begin nominated as managers of the temple of Trincomalee. The Vaipava-malai also speaks of their increasing in number and power in course of time. And the name and date of the king of Anuradhapura who curbed their pride and reduced them to the rank of Atikaris are correctly given as Aggrabodhi (the first of the name) in the year 515, Saka year, which is A. D. 593. This is another purple patch in an otherwise confused medley of facts and legends.

Another invasion claimed by the Pallava Narasimhavarman[12] (630-668) but actually by Manavamma with the help of that Pallava king is noteworthy as having brought fresh accession to the Tamils in Ceylon. He was the son of Kasyapa 11 but was excluded from regal power by Dhathopatissa 11 who ascended the throne (664). Manavamma fled to India and took service under Narasimhavarman and was present at the battle of Vatapi in which this monarch defeated Pulakasan 11 in 642. Now Manavamma returned to Ceylon with an army furnished by Narasimhavarman and succeeded in taking Anuradhapura but had soon to return to this patron for further help. Invading Ceylon after the reign of three of its kings "he raised the imperial banner of sovereignty over all Lanka."[13] (691-726).

The story of Ukkirasingan in the Vaipava-malai looks like a travesty of Manavamma's first taking possession of the north and then the south of Ceylon. In spite of many a wild fancy it gives a date for his inbasion which makes the story likely to be based on some historical fact. Advocate Britto, the translator of the Vaipava-malai into English has a note about this in an unpublished work entitled *Viruttiyam.* It says "In Knighton (p. 111) we read : There was a scion, Mahalaipamu, of the royal blood of Ceylon, who having obtained aid from an Indian king named Narasinha, invaded Ceylon, but was defeated. Repairing again to his patron, he obtained a large force, by means of which he was completely successful. And he ascended the throne in A.D. 720. The Saka year 717 of the Vaipava-malai is evidently a mistake for A.D. 717.

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[12] His grandfather Simha Vishnu also claimed in one of his inscriptions to have vanquishd the Sinhala king : Dubreuil : Pallavas p. 73.

[13] Mahavamsa Ch. XLVII

The author of the Vaipava-malai lived in Jaffna during the Dutch period and collected his materials, as he says in his preface, from other authors some of whom probably gave their dates in A.D., and not in Saka. Accustomed to use the Saka year, the author sometimes adds the word Saka to the Christian year without first altering the Christian year to correspond with the Saka year. Simetimes he adds the number 78 to the Christian year, intending to subtract that number in order to reduce the Christian to the Saka year. This is an instance in which he adds the word Saka to the Christian year. If it is so, there is still a difference of three years. That difference is not great. Nor is it unaccountable. It may be that 717 A.D. is the year of the first and unsuccessful attempt, while 720 is the year of the conquest. According to the Sinhalese account Narasinkan is the name of the patron of the conqueror. According to the Tamil account, that same is the name of the Conqueror's son and successor.[14]

The story of Ukkirasinkan then is based on a historical fact the slight desparity of dates notwithstanding. The author of the Vaipava-malai considered Manavamma whom he confuses with Narsinhavarman and also in part with Kalinga Magha (to be spoken of in the next chapter as a king of Jaffna), but the northern kingdom did not come into existence yet. New colonists were gradually preparing the way. Aside from the large accessions to the older population brought in the train of Tamil invasions, the opposing factions of Ceylon

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Rajavaliya translation by Mudlyr B. Gunasekara, p. 25. " An indication that the rule of the Tamil king, Elara, was democratic, is afforded by an inscription found near Anuradhapura, with points to the fact that Elara granted his subjects freedom of discussion and assembly which had been denied by some Sinhalese kings to all except the privileged few. The inscription had been discovered at a place to the north of Anuradhapura about 500 yards behind the building known as the Elephant Stables. The inscription itself was found on the vertical side of a stone terrace leading up to a stone platform mounted on a large boulder. According to the inscription the stone terrace and platform were erected at the instance of a person known as " Sammanna, tha Tamil ". It is described as the prasada (platform) of the Tamil householders who foregathered to discuss important questions. The suggestion is that the leading householders of the time foregathered in such central places to hold consultations on matters of moment." *The time of Ceylon,* 20-10-45.

14 Britto's MS p. 100.

rulers themselves were in the habit of hiring the services of the warlike South Indian Tamils one against the other. To mention a few instances : In A.D. 38 we hear of king Ila Naga (a Sinhalese probably with Naga antecedents) betaking himself to the continent for bringing "a mighty force" to defeat the Lambakannos.[15] In 237 Abhaya Naga has recourse to a Tamil army for overthrowing the reigning king Voharika Tissa.[16] Mogollana I (497-515) goes to the main land to bring an army for defeating his brother Kasyapa I, parricide and founder of the fortress of Sigiriya.[17] During the reign of Sila Meyavanna (614-623) Sri Naga proceeds to South India and returning with a large army of Tamils takes possession of the northern dominion. The king however defeated him. Of his followers many were killed the rest being captured and distributed among the various Vihares as slaves.[18] Again Agrabodhi III brings a Tamil army for defeating Jettha Tissa III (623-4).[19] On several other occasions Sinhalese rulers had recourse to mercenaries from South India who enrolled themselves indifferently under any leader and deposed and restored kings at their pleasure. "For four hundred years," says Tennent "from the seventh till the eleventh century, the exploits and excapades of the Malabars occupy a more prominent portion of the Sinhalese annals than that devoted to the policy of the native sovereigns. They filled every office, including that of Prime Minister, and they decided the claims of competing candidates for the crown. At length the country became so infested by their numbers that the feeble monarchs found it impracticable to effect their exclusion from Anuradhapura. Hence to escape from their proximity, the kings in the eighth century began to move southwards, and transferred their residence to Pollanarrua, which eventually became the capital of the kingdom." [20]

The teeming Tamil population of the North was anxious to throw off the yoke of the Sinhalese sovereigns. We find their chiefs ever ready to cast in their lot with any one who

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15 Mahavamsa XXXV, 27-45.
16 Ibid XXXVI, 42-51.
17 Rajavaliya p. 55.
18 Mahavamsa XLIV, 70-73.
19 Ibid XLIV, 103-112.
20 Tennent I p. 400.

chose to revolt against the central authority. When Agraboddi VII died in 781 "the chiefs of the districts of the Northern country with the dwellers in the province seized the land by force and refused tribute to the king."[21] Mahinda II the successor of the deceased king is said to have "crushed all the chiefs of districts together with the dwellers in the province." This was never effectually done. There was always some sort of military government among the Tamils. According to the tradition preserved by Trindade and after him by Queiroz[22] there seems to have been in the land a military order of government composed of Vidanes, Araches and Mudaliyars or Captains. That they persisted in some sort of independence is seen by their again joining hands with the Pandyans during the reign of Sena I (846-866) Anuradhapura was sacked and, notwithstanding that peace was subsequently made with the invaders, the king considered it prudent to transfer his royal seat to Polonaruwa.[23] He was the first to make this town the capital city although Aggabodhi IV is mentioned as the first to have had a temporary residence there.[24]

In India the Cholas began, about the end of the nineth century, to assert their supremacy where the Pallavas and the Chalukyas had extended their sway. Dappula V had hardly come to the throne of Lanka in early tenth century, when a Pandyan king was fleeing from the Cholas and came to Ceylon begging for help . Internal dissensions in the Island prevented Dappula from acceding to his request, and the Pandyan had to return disappointed. He left, however, his crown and royal ornaments with the king of Ceylon.[25]. The Cholas under Parantaka I attempted to obtain possession of the Pandyan regalia under Udaya III (864-972) and failed. They had however some success in subduing the northern parts. It is this abortive enterprise doubtless which furnished the occa-

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21 Mahavamsa XLVIII, 83-85.

22 Trindade p. Queiroz, p. 37.

23 Mahavamsa Ch. L.

24 Ibid. XLVI. 74.

25 Ibid. LIII, 5-9.

sion for Parantaka's boast in his inscriptions that he had conquered Ilam.[26] He also speaks of having killed the king of Ilam. This might have been a ruler of the North since we know Vijaya was not killed.

Again under Mahinda IV (975-991) the Chola king Vallabha, apparently Parantaka II sent a force to subdue Rajaratta. It landed at Nratota, but was not successful. The invaders had to make a friendly treaty with the king of Lanka.[27] The Tamils had soon the upper hand. Mahinda's son, Sena V (991-1001), thoughtlessly killed the brother of his general, who in his rage made over the government of the country to the Tamils. Sena took, flight to Rohuna and sent an army to fight the general but with ill-success. In the meantime the Tamils oppressed the inhabitants of the country so much that they made an to the king. He was forced in his helplessness to make a treaty with his infuriated general for pacifying him and returning to Polonaruwa resumed the government.[28]

The Sinhalese fared worse under his successor Mahinda V who reigned at Anuradhapura (1001-1017). This was a weak monarch. He had not the wherewithal to pay the arrears of his Kerala army. They revolted and the king sought safety in flight to Rohuna. "In the remaining country Keralas Sihalas and Kannadas carried on the government as they pleased." At this juncture the great Chola emperor Rajaraja I (985-1012) bethought himself of adding Ceylon to his possessions in the South of India and sent a force of 95,000 Tamils according to the Pujavaliya and seized all the country save the remotest parts of the South still held by the Sinhalese. This was between 1001 and 1004. By about 1017 king Mahinda himself was captured and deported to India with his crown, jewels and the Pandyan regaliya left by a fugitive king during an earlier reign. Mahinda died a captive in India.

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26 Epigr. Ind. Vol. vii p. 1.

27 Ibid IV, 12-16. The author of *Ancient Jaffna* (261) sees reason to find the name of Vallabha in the legendry Valvar-kon-pallam of the Vaipava-malai.

28 Ibid *I iv*, 57-70.

Ceylon was made a province of the Chola empire and named Mummudi Chola Mandalam. Polonaruwa, the capital was given the name of Jananathapuram with a viceroy in it. Mantota, the great port of ingress for Tamil armies, was renamed *Rajarajapuram*. Several Hindu temples were erected at the capital city and in other places. The land so long filled by irrisistible tides of invasion, became now fit for the peaceful penetration of more and more Tamils from the mainland.

After Rajaraja I Ceylon continued to be subject to three Chola emperors in succession, Rajendra Deva II, Vira Rajendra and Adhi Rajendra the one time viceroy at Polonaruwa. The foreign rule lasted for more than seventy years, eighty six years say the Pujavaliya and Nikaya Sangrahawa.[29] There were occasional risings by the Sinhalese always repressed by the Cholas. According to the Manimangalam inscriptions of the Cholas three kings of Jaffna probably feudatories were deprived of their crown and killed during the Chola occupation of Ceylon: Manabharana before 1038-30, Sri Vallabha Madana Rajah in 1042 and Vira Sala Masha in 1012. At last, Vijayabahu I, profiting by the wars of succession among the Cholas in India which ended in the accession of Kulottunga Chola I 1069, had an easy walk over to Polonaruwa. He entered Anuradhapura in 1070 and was subsequently crowned king of all Ceylon.[31] Among the many inscriptions during his rule of more than fifty five years, there was a remarkable Tamil inscription at Polonaruwa. By it the Velaikkara army of three divisions from South India, probably brought under the Cholas, made agreement with the king to protect the Tooth relic temple newly erected by him at the royal city now renamed Vijayarajapuram.[32]

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29 Pujavaliya p. 33; NikayaSangrahawa p. 19.

30 See Ancient Jaffna pp. 278-284.

31 Mahavamsa Ch. LV: LVIII. Cf. Codrington History of Ceylon Ch. III and IV.

32 See R. A. S. C. B. XXIX, 266 ff. As many members of the armies from the opposite coast the Velaikkaras also contributed their quota to the new colonization of the north. Cf. a land in Tolpuram kuricchi with a tombo name of Velaikkaran.

Since the death of Vijayabahu I, probably in 1,111, Ceylon again fell a prey to internecine conflict between members of the royal family till Parakramabahu I, by intrigues and blood shed, literally cut his way to the throne in 1153. We do not hear of the northern country as subject to the kings of Polonaruwa till this great king's accession. Under the Chola regime and later fendatory chiefs who often rebelled against the central authority conducted the government normally Parakramabahu the great seems to have kept down their rebellious spirit and to have exercised some sort of supremacy over them. The fact of his having employed Tamil soldiers mostly for his expeditions is significant. His Tamil inscription at Nainativu regulating traffic in the surrounding seas points to the sovereign authority he enjoyed in the extreme north. But after his death (1186) his successors found themselves unequal to the last of holding the north in check and there seems to have been a line of independent Tamil Kings ruling there. Jadavarman Sundara Pandya I (1251-1280) says in his Sidamparam inscription, apparently of 1257 that he received tribute of elephants and gems from the king of Ilam. As there is no mention of the invasion of this Pandyan in the annals of Sinhalese kings it is likely that the northern Kingdom was meant. Jadavarman Vira Pandya II in a record of his 11th year (1265/6) boasts that "he killed one of the two kings of Ceylon captured his army, chariots, treasures, throne, crown, necklace, parasol, chauris, and other royal possessions, planted the Pandya flag with double fish at Konamalai and the high peaks of the Trikutagiri mountain, received elephants as tribute from the other king of Ceylon and subdued the Kirala". Codrington who notes these facts says : "The slain monarch must have been the king of Jaffna and the other Parakrama Bahu (II) if all these records refer to one campaign as seems probable, its date must fall between 1254 and 1257. On either side of the main entrance to Fort Frederick, Trimcomalee, may be seen the double Pandyan fish on carved stones taken from the old Konesar temple."[33]

[33] Ceyl. Antiq. X p. 50.

At Polonaruwa kings were set up and dethroned in quick succession. After Parakrama Bahu the Great ten kings sat on the Sinhalese throne each for a short time. Anikanga the eleventh brought an army from the Chola country slew his son the infant king and exercised power for only seventeen days, when Lilavati, Parakrama Bahu's widow, began to rule for a second time. But she was dethroned by Lokssara who brought a Tamil levy with him and reigned for nine months. The queen seized the throne once more but was speedily ousted by Parakrama Pandya for three years. He was deposed about 1215 by Kalinga Magha who descended on Ceylon with a large army of Keralas, claiming the throne by inheritance through his kinsmen who had reigned before. The story of his founding a new line of kings in north Ceylon will be recounted in the following Chapter.

The Literature of Saiva Siddhanta and Allied Schools

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DR. G. U. POPE, "the student of Tamil", has testified years ago that 'under some form or other, Saivism is the real religion of South India, and of North Ceylon; and the Saiva Siddhanta philosophy has, and *deserves to have,** far more influence than any other': It is 'the most elaborated influential and undoubtedly the most intrinsically valuable of all the religions of India.'

The literature of Saivism is very wide indeed. We shall group them into the following divisions for purposes of convenient treatment: (1). The Vedas and Agamas (2). Puranas and Ithihasas (3). Saiva Tirumurai (4). Siddhanta Sastras (5) Pandara Sastras (6) Works on Saivic schools. (7). Miscellaneous works (8) Journals and (9) English works.

The *Vedas* are the highest revelations to which the Saiva Siddhanta philosophy and the other schools of Saivism are usually traced. The term Vedas comes from the root Vid, meaning knowledge. These scriptures are four in number — Rig, Yajur, Sama and Atarva. Every one of these can be mainly divided into karma kanda and jnana kanda. The latter part includes the famous Upanishads — "the end of Vedas." There are very few Siddhanta scholars who do not refer to Svetesvatara Upanishad, even if they do not speak of others.

The Vedas are in Sanskrit. A certain Siddanta scholar by name Swami Vedachalam claims that there existed four Vedas in Tamil with the same names and that out of these the Sama Veda, it is alleged, was sung by Ravana of Ramayana fame.**

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* Italics Pope's own.

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The *Saivagamas,* which are sometimes referred to as tantras, are very many. Twenty eight of them are considered important.* They are : (1) Kamika (2) Yogaja (3) Cintya (4) Karana (5) Ajita (6) Dipta (7) Sukshma (8) Sahasraka (9) Amsuman (10) Suprabha (11) Vijaya (12) Nisvasa (13) Svayambhuva (14) Agneyaka (15) Bhadra (16) Raurava (17) Makuta (18) Vimala (19) Chandrahasa (20) Mukhayugbimba (21) Udgita (22) Lalita (23) Siddha (24) Santana (25) Narasimha (26) Paramesvara (27) Kirana (28) Para. Sometimes the Agamas that are counted Saivic are numbered as hundred and eight. Every one of these agamas consists of four parts — jnana kanda, yoga kanda, kriya kanda and sariya kanda. The worship and the celebration of festivals in the temples dedicated to Siva are based on the agamas. Further, they are also treatises on God, soul and matter technically called by the Saiva Siddhantins as Pati, pasu and pasam. The so called inner schools of Saivism — Pasupata, Mahavrata, Kapala, Vama, Bairava and Aikya Vada — also trace their precepts and practices to these agamas.

(2). *Puranas* are allegorical stories. The outstanding Saiva puranas are Siva Purana, Skanda Purana, Linga Purana, Vayu Purana, Matsya Purana and Kurma Purana.

The *Ithihasas* also are stories but they are considered to be historic events that have occurred in recent yugas. They may be said to explain religion at the secular level. The well known ithihasas — *Ramayana* and *Mahabarata* — throw some light on Saivism. Moreover some of the leading personalities of these stories such as Rama, Ravana and Krishna are regarded by the Saiva Siddhantins as devotees of Siva.

(3). The *Saiva Tirumurai* are the canonical literature. These are classified into twelve parts. They were codified by Nambi-andar-nambi, but not in the historical order. These works are devotional literature and consequently they are emotional in character. The songs of Tirugnanasambandar form the first three tirumurai ; those of Appar comprise the next three tirumurai ; and Sundarar's hymns go to make the seventh tirumurai. These songs of the three Saiva samayachairyas are called tevaram and all of them together go by the name of adangan murai.

Now, out of the 10,000 hymns sung by Sambandar only 384 are extant; out of 49,000 hymns of Appar except 315 others are extinct; and out of 37,000 hymns sung by Sundarar only 100 exist.

Tiruvasagam and *Tirukovaiar* of Mannikkavasagar go to make up the eighth tirumurai. G. U. Pope has translated Tiruvasagam into English. Schomerus and Frederick Heiler have translated parts of it into German. Though the orthodox saivaites regard it to be a heinous crime to write a commentary on this work, the late Professor K. Subramania Pillai has written a running commentary for the same and the erudite Siddhanta scholar Panditamony Katiresan Chettiar has written lucid commentaries to Tiruchadagam and Nital Vinappam, two of the parts of the same work.

The works of nine saivaite devotees (beginning with Tirumaligai Devar and ending with Sethirayar), called *Tiru-pallandu* comprise the ninth tirumurai. Sage Tirumular's *Tirumantiram* is the tenth part of the canonical literature. There are 3000 stanzas in this work. The eleventh Tirumurai is a compendiam of the works of many authors from Tiru-valavayudayar to Pattinatar and those of Nambi-andar-nambi. G. H. Cobban has translated some songs of Pattinatar. The last of the Tirumurai is a biographical work by poet Sekkiyar. This is entitled Tirutondar puranam but popularly known as Peria puranam which means 'the great epic'.

(4). Apart from the devotional works mentioned just above, there are fourteen philosophical works in Tamil which are usually denoted as *Siddhanta sastras* or *Meikanda sastras.* There are commentaries as well as English translations for many of these works.

The most important of the Siddhanta sastras is the famous *Siva-jnana-bodham* by Meikandar. It comprises twelve sutras, terse in nature. These sutras embody the metaphysics and psychology of Saiva Siddhanta in a nut shell. Meikandar himself provides arguments, analogies and brief commentaries to these sutras. Some scholars, notably Dr. Ramana Sastri and Dr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, regard the Tamil Siva-jnana-bodham as a mere translation of the Sanskrit Papa-vimochana padala of the Raurava agama. But many others

do not contribute to this view. Rev. H. R. Hoisington, Gordon Matthews, J. M. Nallasamy Pillai, Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam and Shuddhananta Parati have rendered the Siva-jnana-bodham into English. Pandi Perumal Virruthi by Pandi Perumal, Siva-jnanabodha bashya (Dravida Mapadiyam) by Siva-jnana-yogi are the well known commentaries on this work.

The next work of importance in this group is *Siva-jnana-Siddhiyar.* It contains two parts. The first part which is called para-paksham refutes fourteen schools alien to Saivism. The second part is known as supaksham. This part contains a preliminary chapter on Logic and a lucid elaboration of the twelve sutras of Siva-jnana-bodham. There is a saying that half a stanza of Siddhiyar will suffice to understand the purport of many a work. The author of this work was Arulnandhi Sivachariya, who was first the guru of Meikanda's father and later the disciple of Meikanda himself!

Out of the many commentaries for Siddhiyar, the joint commentary by Siva-jnana-yogi and Subramaniya Desikar (irruvar urai) and the individual commentaries by Nirambavalakiar, Sivagra Yogi, Maraijnana Desikar and Jnanaprakasar are well known. All these are commentaries on the supaksham. Tattvaprakasa Tambiran Swami has commented on the Parapaksham. Dr. Grant and J. M. Nallaswamy Pillai have translated parts of Siddhiyar.

Irrupavirupatu by Arulnandhi again is another sastric work. It is in the form of a conversation between a master and his pupil, on God, soul and malas (impurities). The next is called *Tiruvuntiyar* by Vyyavanda Deva of Tiruviyalur. It comprises of 45 stanzas which deal with the ways of obtaining salvation. The next of the series in the Siddhanta sastras is entitled *Tirukkalittupadiyar,* which can be regarded as a commentary on the previous works mentioned just above. Then comes *Unmai Villakkam,* again a dialogue on the evolution of matter, the dance of Siva, the five-lettered mantra and the way to attain salvation. This work is followed by *Unmai-neri-villakkam* which deals with the different steps on the way of the soul's progress toward mukti.

All the other works of Siddhanta sastras are by Umapati Sivacharya who lived and died very near Annamalainagar, the present seat of Tamil learning and culture. The chief of Umapati's works is *Sivaprakasam*. This also treats of God, soul, fetters, etc., but the method of treatment is interesting. The topics ars dealt with in a concentric style. In the first part something is said on them and in the second part additional information is given.. Sivaprakasar, Chidambaranada Munivar and Tiruvilangam have written commentaries on it. Rev. Hoisington and K. Subramania Pillai have translated Sivaprakasam into English.

Now let us refer to the other works of Umapati. *Tiru-arulpayan* treats of a variety of topics such as the nature of God, soul, anava and grace. Hoisington and G. U. Pope have translated this into English. *Vinavemba* deals with the salient principles of Siddhanta saivism. It is akin to Irrupavirupatu in many respects. Namasivaya Tambiran has commented on this work. The poem *Potripahrodai* reveals that every act of Siva is for the benefit of the souls. *Kodik-kavi* is a flag-song wherein the soul's upward journey towards salvation is compared with the rearing of the flag. *Nenju-vidututu* is an address to Tirugnanasambandar dealing with the three eternals of Saiva Siddhantapati, pasu and pasam. It also criticises the alien schools of philosophy. *Sankarpani-rakaranam* is a polemical work in which one can meet with both the exposition and exposture of a number of allied and alien schools to Saiva Siddhanta.

Most of the sections of the Siddhanta literature which we have considered so far are closely connected. Their interrelations are expressed in a familiar Tamil stanza which says that "the Veda is the cow ; the Agama is its milk ; the Tamil of the four saints (Tevaram and Tiruvasagam) is the ghee churned from it ; the excellence of the well instructive Tamil (Siva-jnana-bodham) of Meikanda Deva of Tiruvennainallur is like the sweetness of such ghee"

(5) We shall now pass on to the next section. There are a number of saivite Mutts in South India. Many of the swamis of these mutts have recorded the teachings of their gurus and also their own thoughts in a number of Tamil works in the form of poems. These are called the Pandara

sastras. Even though there are quite a number of such works, fourteen of them are regarded important. These are the writings of the venerable sanyasis of Tiruvaduturai and Dharmapuram adhinams. They are : Ambalavana Desikar's dasakaryam, *Dakshinamurti Desikar's* dasakaryam, Swaminatha Desikar's dasakaryam, Sanmarga Siddhiyar, Sivachrama Telivu, Siddhanta Pahrodai, Upadesa Pahrodai, Panjagra Pahrodai, Siddhanta Sigamony, Upaya-nittai-venba, Nittai vilakkam, Upadesa venba, Athisaya *malai* and Namasivaya *malai*.

(6) To any one interested in *the different schools of* Saivism , the following works will be of much interest : Manimekalai, Sivajnana Siddhiyar, Sankarpa Nirakaranam, Sarva Darsana Samgraha (translated by Cowell and Gough), Tatwaprakasam, Mukti-nilai, Mukti-nischayam, Sivaneri prakasam, Meijnana vilakkam, Prabodha Chandrodayam, Perun-tirattu, kuruntirattu, Tirumantiram, Sivaprakasa vikasam, Sathamony malai, Siddhanta-sigamony, Avirodha untiyar and its commentary, Tiruporur Sannidhi-murai, Ozivil odukkam, Srikanta Bashya, Takkayaga-parani, Abirami andhadi, Saundaryalahari, Vedanta soolamony, Vallalar Sathiram, works by Pamban swami, Mattavilasa-prahasna, Sivajana deepam, Adwaita venba, and Prabhulinga leela.

(7) Besides the works we have mentioned hitherto, there are a number of other works on Saivism. Though this list of miscellaneous works will ever remain incomplete some of them are worth mentioning. They are : Gnanabarana vilakkam by Vellaiambala Munivar, Archa deepam by Somasundara Nayagar, Psalms of Thayumanavar (G. M. Cobban, R. S. Subramaniam, and Isaac Tambyah have translated many of them), Arul-pa of Ramalinga swami, Tirupugal of Arunagiriyar, Tugalaru bodham of Chittambalam Adigal, Sivananda Lahari by Sankara, Tirukkaruvai-patittupathandhadi (which is also called smaller Tiruvasagam) and Jnanamirtham by Vakisa Munivar.

Some European scholars have also attempted to study Saivism and have produced useful literature. *Der Saiva Siddhanta* by H. W. Schomerus, *Satsamaya vilakkam* by H. A. Popley, and stray writings by T. Gowdie, T. Foulkes, G. E. Philips, A. E. Clayton, Dr. Barnett, N. Macnicol, G. U. Pope,

H. R. Hoisington, Prof. Garbe, R. E. Fraser and Farquhar are useful to research scholars. Similarly on the Indian side the writings of Arumuga Navalar, J. M. Nallasamy Pillai, Dr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, Suddhananda Barati, M. Balasubramania Mudaliyar, K. M. Balasubramania Mudaliyar, C. K. Subramania Mudaliyar, Prof. K. Subramaniya Pillai, S. Satchithanandam Pillai, D. Gopaul Chetty, Maraimalai Adigal, V. Kaliyanasundara Mudaliyar and Rajeswari Ammal are worth study.

(8) Among journals the pride of place goes to *Siddhanta Deepika* or the Light of Truth. This journal, which is also known as Agamic review, is unfortunately not published now. The journal which is efficiently popularising Saivism is "Siddhantam". Jnana-sagaram, Jnana-sambandam, Todan, Tamil-Tondam, Kalai-magal, Sentamil, Sen Tamil Selvi and Tamil Pozil are some of the popular Tamil journals which carry now and then articles on Saivism. Back numbers of the Journal of the American Oriental Society, Journal of Oriental Research (Madras), Contemporary Review and Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Bengal and Bombay) carry a few articles on Saivism.

(9) The following are the outstanding works in English on our subject : *Saiva Siddhanta as a philosophy and practical knowledge* of Marai-malai-adigal ; *The Saiva School of Hinduism* by S. Sivapadasundaram ; *Vaishnavism, Saivism and minor religious systems* by R. J. Bhandarkar ; *Sivadvaita of Srikanta* by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri ; *Essentials of Hinduism in the Light of Saiva Siddhanta* by S. Sabaratna Mudaliyar ; *New Light upon Indian Philosophy* by D. Gopaul Chetty ; *The Metaphysics of the Saiva System* by K. Subramania Pillai ; *Origin and Early History of Saivism in South India* by C. V. Narayana Ayyar ; *Saiva Siddhanta in the Meikanda Sastra* by Violet Paranjoti ; *The Philosophy of Saiva Siddhanta* by Rev. Fr. Gnanaprakasar ; *The Doctrine of Grace in Saiva Siddhanta* by Rev. Fr. A. P. Arokiasamy ; *Introduction and History of Saiva Siddhanta* by G. Subramania Pillai ; *University Lectures on Saiva Siddhanta* by M. Balasubramania Mudaliyar ; *A logical presentation of Saiva Siddhanta philosophy* by John S. Piet ; *The Saiva Sid-*

dhanta Theory of Knowledge by Ponniah; and *A Handbook of Saiva Religion* by Subramania Kathiresu.

Every year the Tirupanandal Mutt in co-operation with the Annamalai University is publishing English works on Saiva Siddhanta. So far Prof. R. Ramanujachari, Prof. G. Subramania Pillai, M. Balasubramania Mudaliyar and Vajravel Mudaliyar have published the lectures they delivered at the Benares and Allahabad Universities through this endowment.

Those who have just picked up Tamil and want to launch upon a study of Saivism would do well to begin with works called kattalais. A kattalai in Tamil is a short treatise which presents within a small compass the fundamental principles of religious philosophy. The chief among the Saiva kattalais are *Sivaprakasa kattalai, Siddhanta kattalai* and *Tiruvalavai kattalai.*

The First Tragedy in Kamban

PROF. E. T. RAJESWARI, M.A., L.T.

KAMBAN is hailed as the Emperor of Tamil poetry. His story of Ramayana is well known throughout the length and breadth of the Tamil country. It is really one version of the famous Valmiki's great epic. As pointed out by Sri. V. V. S. Iyar, Kamban along with the other great poets of the various languages of India refuses to translate the great epic, as was done in the West by the translators of the Iliad. He handles the old story in his own inimitable way, giving the world a new epic of his own, like the goldsmith giving us new ornaments out of old jewels of gold presented to him. The architectonics of his epic has been studied from the point of view of the main actors of this drama. Ramayana, from another point of view, is a series of stories and a study of these may reveal the technique of Kamban's art; for, here he enjoys a freedom of construction and development of plot denied to him and others, in the onward march of the main plot. A detailed study of these minor plots will, thus, reveal his originality; they are as it were the main links of his central plot, giving to his story its unique form and shape.

The author of Sri Vacana Bhushanam in Tamil gives expression to the Vaisnavite view of Ramayana—that it is the glorification of the imprisoned Sita. The other female characters naturally represent so many studies in character contrast. This principle of epic construction, may give unity to the study of the various sub-plots, if considered from this point of view of the minor female characters of Kamban. And curiously enough, the very first sub-plot is that of Tataka—a female character.

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II

Criticism is in one sense a comparison. To judge the originality of Kamban, what can be of greater importance than a comparison of his version with that of his original Valmiki ? Comparisons, unfortunately, are odious. A comparison for arriving at the special characteristic features of the things compared is different from a comparison for arriving at a judgment on the superiority of the one over the other. When it is a question of comparing two greatest works of art, it is the first kind of comparison which will be of any worth. It is like a comparison between the best of rubies and the best of emeralds. Tastes differ ; and there cannot be any consensus of opinion about the preference of the one to the other, though there can be no two opinions about the distinguishing marks of each arrived at, after a careful comparison. The same is the case with the two epics compared.

III

With this warning in mind, Valmiki's story may be examined. The sage Visvamitra takes the princes, Rama and Lakshmana, from Ayodhya to the place of his sacrifice. On the way, the 23rd Sarga or chapter in Balakanda, gives us the story of Kamasrama or Cupid's grove, where Kama was burnt to ashes by Siva. The 24th Chapter describes Visvamitra's crossing the river along with the princes, his explanation to the inquiry of Rama for the peculiar gurgling sound heard in the waters as they enter the rendezvous of Tataka. Visvamitra describes to the curious princes, who are surprised to see this wild forest, how the spot appeared prior to Tataka's advent and what havoc she has been making in the forest. All these are narrated by way of conversation between Visvamitra and the princes, who remind us of the curious boys of the world, putting a series of questions to their obliging elders.

The story of Indra is here narrated by Visvamitra, how Indra killed Vratra, how he became a carrier of the sin of Brahmahatti, how he shed his sin and hunger at this particular place when washed by the denizens of heaven with the holy waters, how he was moved by a feeling of joy and how

as a consequence he blessed this land with fertility. The place is now seen by the princes as a land laid waste by the overgrown forests, wild beasts, and frightful birds. The closing *portion of the 24th Chapter refers to the revolution* effected by Tataka possessing a strength of 1000 elephants. Visvamitra tells the princes that she was the wife of Sunda and mother of Marica, as powerful as Indra. She is blessed with a big head, round shoulders and a body of spacious proportions. Every day she assumes some cruel form or other, for frightening the people to destruction. Tataka destroyed this place by these revolutionary methods of hers. Visvamitra winds up this part of his conversation with a request to Rama that the prince should clear this land of its dangers. This is all the story that Visvamitra narrates at this stage.

The 25th Chapter begins with Rama's query how a woman — of the weaker sex — comes to be possessed with the strength of one thousand elephants. The sage starts to narrate the story of her life from the beginning, in the good old grand-mother's way. It is all in short the effect of a blessing of the Creator. In olden times there lived a great person by name Suketu of exemplary character but with no child. He performed a great Tapas and the Great Grand-father of the Universe was so pleased with him that he blessed his devotee with a daughter by name Tataka. She was endowed with the might of 1000 elephants—perhaps as a consolation for not blessing Suketu with the much-aspired-for son. This Tataka grew up to woman-hood full of joy and beauty. The father gave her in marriage to Sunda, son of Jamba and in time was born to them a son, Marica. Unfortunately, he was *cursed to become a Rakshasa*. . .Sunda was next killed by Agastya. Tataka with her son rushed towards Agastya, ready to pounce on and devour him. The unfailing curse of this sage drove the son as a Rakshasa, while Tataka came to assume cruel and unusual forms. Overpowered by this never-to-be-warded-off-course and consequently by her irresistible anger, she destroyed the country and laid it waste, to become the haunt of wild beasts and birds.

Visvamitra concludes this part of the story with a peroration to Rama. " Oh Rama, for the sake of the good of the cows and the Brahmins, kill this woman of cruel valour and

extreme hard-heartedness. In these three worlds there is no man excepting yourself who can gladly undertake the destruction of this cursed being. To feel any soft-heartedness at the thought of killing her, because it tantamounts to killing a woman—is to waste our sympathy,—it is to no purpose; it is not one's duty. For the good of the four castes, any act has to be done by the sons of the Kings. Whether the act is true or false, whether it is pure or impure, it has to be performed at any cost, in the cause of protecting their subjects. This is the ancient duty prescribed for those on whose shoulders has been placed the burden of State. Pray kill that unrighteous one. To her we owe no duty. It is told of olden times that Indra killed one Mantara the daughter of Virocana (விரோசன) who was desirous of destroying the whole world. In ancient times, there was the chaste wife Bhragu (பிரகு) who did not mind the world going without an Indra. That Kavyamata was killed by Vishnu. Like these, by many great princes of old by the best of men, were killed women who were sliding down towards unrighteousness. Therefore, O Rama, leave off this weak-heartedness, and kill her at my command".

In the next chapter the 26th Sarga, Rama with folded hands assures Visvamitra, it is his father's order that he should follow implicitly the words of the sage without entertaining any doubt. "It is the least that I can do," he continues, "to honour my father and yourself, I am going to follow your instructions. I have no doubt that the execution of Tataka is the best act. In the interest of the cows and the Brahmins, and for the benefit of the country, I have made myself ready for following your unrivalled words".

At these words the inhabitants of the forest shed their fears. But Tataka, confused by these very words, becomes full of anger. She runs to the place wherefrom the sound proceeds. Rama sees the angry and unnatural face of this monster. He points out to Lakshmana her adamantine and cruel body and remarks, "At the very sight of her, the hearts of those who take a fright, quake and break. She is all strength and magic. I shall remove straightaway her ears and nose. She is protected by her womanliness. Therefore I do not feel enthusiastic about killing her. I shall destroy her

cruel behaviour. That is how my thought runs at the present momement."

These words only instil in her further rage, and she roars in anger. With extended arms she runs at Rama. It is a dangerous situation. The sage intervenes with his Humkara (உம்காரம்) a firm and deep sound which stops her immediately, whilst the sage blesses the prince with victory. She confuses the princes for a long time and raises a hail-storm of stones. Rama neutralises this, by raising a counter-storm of arrows, and cuts with his sword her hands. She roars but Lakshmana makes her earless and noseless. She at once assumes many forms appearing and disappearing at will, and confusing all by her own magic. She creates a downpour of stones. Thus is the fight going on. The sage again intervenes with a timely warning. "Enough of this soft-heartedness. This sinful woman of evil character, creating obstacles to my sacrifice, has been growing strong, from olden times because of her magic and illusion. Kill her therefore before the sun sets.. Rakshasas become unconquerable after nightfall."

Tataka is made visible. The weapons hurled at her make her cry and roar. She rushes at them like an on-rushing thunder. Rama breaks open her heart with a weapon. She falls down. The King of the Devas with his followers worships Rama, and begs of the sage to bless the prince with the Mantras and arms, to do his duty by the Gods.

IV

One general remark will occur to anyone who compares both the versions of Valmiki and Kamban. The story as told by Valmiki is narrated in the most natural manner reminding us of the rustic people and the children — always curious to know about things which come on their way for the first time. Rama, in the story of Valmiki is one such young child, curious to know the wonders of the world, as and when he meets them. Why is the forest so wild ? What is this gurgling sound ? How can a woman of the weaker sex be as strong as thousand elephants ?

Rama is full of reverence to the all knowing man Visvamitra who explains these intellectual problems of his childhood ; and therefore he promises to do as he is ordered by his sympathetic teacher. Rama and Lakshmana talk and act like two playmates in some joint adventure of boyhood ; Tataka appearing to them no more than a dangerous worm or a bird or beast, to be worsted by them by removing a nose or an ear.

Visvamitra reminds us of the world-wide story teller, something more than the usual grandmother telling all sorts of tales whilst feeding the children at dusk. Perhaps he is something more than a story teller too — a true teacher waiting for the active question of the pupil for starting his divine art. Like a good teacher he explains, inspires and moves them to act. In this world of this teacher, the death and resurrection of Kama, the cruel forest, the diabolical Tataka—all become so many scenes in a drama in which in the end, the on-lookers and the audience — these veritable pupils themselves — take part again in a playful mood as gamesters, though the end of it all is the tragic death of Tataka. This is indeed education for life. What a teacher ! — What pupils and what a wonderful way of teaching ! How we wish we had such teachers to face our world and its problems, sure of success in the end on this playfield of ours ! Then only we can understand the inner significance of Shakespeare's statement " all the world is a stage." We see the greatness of this teacher in his slowly working up the playful feelings of the princes to the required sublime heights of a tragedy. But he does not give up the method of story-telling — an art appealing to the imagination more wonderful than our art of visual education merely appealing to the eye. Even this story is not told as a continuous narrative but in two different stages as and when the pupil is ripe for receiving the instruction by putting active and proper questions. There is no forcing down of even stories on unwilling ears, or before they are demanded in all earnestness. There is therefore repetition and slow elaboration, but these are taken advantage of, for emphasising the important facts. But so many times he has to prepare the ground by suggestively overstalling some questions and answering them, before the

pupils get confused or misled. He himself raised a doubt, whether a woman can be killed by a hero — perhaps, that feeling was in that age, that it was beneath one's dignity to kill a woman even in war — strihatti and he tries to answer his question by reference to ancient history to the duties of the Kings to do everything in the higher interests of the State.

The child likes to be commanded and modern psychologists have told us that it looks upon its father or the teacher as the very incarnation of an omniscient Law Giver. True to this conception, Rama, as an ideal pupil, agrees to do as he is commanded by Visvamitra. The princes continue to be in the world of play ; for we have here a wonderful example of the play-way method of education in true citizenship. The teacher, however, belonging to an adult world, full of its own doubts and dangers, is really serious and is impatient with the playful princes, teasing Tataka, as children will tease a worm. When Tataka rushes at the princes, even the all-knowing Visvamitra is unnerved. He utters a terrific sound to stop her, and he blesses the princes with victory, lest anything untoward should happen to them. This is not at all necessary and the Rishi must have known this unnecessary, but love is blind, and hence his anxiety. We have further to be reminded of her monstrous cruelty, lest we forget all this in the playful way the princes deal with her. He is getting nervous because he feels they are playing with fire. The princes in their reverence for womanhood — womanhood which the sage himself has emphasised — aim at putting an end to her cruel behaviour, instead of aiming at her very life. Visvamitra, therefore, hastens to warn them, and goads them on to kill this monster of a woman, before it is dark, for monsters become invisible at dusk. The princes implicitly obey, but they are not serious even then ; they make her speak and cry and they cut her in twain as they would have a worm.

Valmiki thus revels in his art of story telling. The story is told through Visvamitra. Repetitions and digressions really beautify folk tales. For there is no hankering after the strange and the melo-dramatic in the ancient world, feeling happy in the midst of familiar surroundings listening to the

same old stories, as so many reminders of their stable life, with no dangers of strange and untoward happenings. The method of contrast is also often utilised to produce a telling effect. Tataka's heartless cruelty and wanton destruction are certainly heightened by the ancient story of Indra's blessing of fertility showered on this land. A land blessed to be fertile is lying waste and cursed, because of Tataka. This contrast is not directly described. One is made to feel the contrast. The land overgrown with forests and wild beasts is so unusual as to excite the curiosity of Rama. Rama describes with all his feelings of curiosity and surprise this strange phenomena of a dense forest and wild life. The good teacher, to heighten this feeling, gives the story of Indra and his erstwhile fertile land. Naturally the question will arise: "How has the fertile land been turned into a wild forest?" The story-teller and teacher having kindled the feeling artfully, satisfies it by himself forestalling the question, and offering an explanation by way of the story which he begins to narrate. The details about her family are hurriedly given. The story of this woman's act of destruction becomes probable only because of her strength of one thousand elephants hinted to by the story-teller.

But the curious Rama senses a contradiction in this member of the weaker sex possessing the strength of one thousand elephants, and begs of the teacher to explain. The teacher's face blossoms into a smile, and he is happy that Rama's curiosity has been kindled thus, for being given the required shape. The explanation is that it is a blessing of Brahma. This power intoxicates and corrupts the woman and her family so much that they put themselves against the sage Agastya, only to excite his curse sending them down the sliding plane to the state of Rakshasas. The questions and answers thus had centred round the fact of the womanhood of Tataka. The effect of contrast, introduced to heighten and visualise the cruel monstrosity of Tataka, perhaps Visvamitra himself feels, has been neutralised by this emphasis on her womanhood. The sage therefore as already stated hastens to narrate ancient history, to lecture on King's duties, and to issue finally a command to kill her. The pupil is prepared to obey the command, for he feels he is pleasing both

his father and his teacher. He repeats like a good student Visvamitra's conception of the good of the cows and Brahmins, and is at once ready with his drawn up bow. This sound reaches the ears of Tataka and she rushes forth to the spot. Curious Rama seeing her thinks aloud in describing her to Lakshmana and in speaking of cutting away her nose and ears. There is all the same a conflict of emotions in his mind, a conflict between the feeling of reverence for womanhood and his feeling of reverence for the words of the sage. He feels he can punish her and set her right. This still further excites her anger and she rushes at him. Visvamitra unnerves her by his angry cry. The fight begins, playful, as far as Rama is concerned ; serious, as far as Tataka is concerned. Her magic supervenes, but the princes take it all as a play. Once again Visvamitra has to intervene to remind them and the readers, of the seriousness of the situation. Tataka is felled and is dead to the joy of the Devas. To realise the importance of what the princes consider as play, the Devas are brought in to bless the princes.

This story true to our understanding of it occurs in Balakanda, canto of childhood and youth, where in the beginning the princes receive their education. They first receive their instruction under Vasishta, the Kulaguru. After the Gurukulavasa, travel gives a finish to education. This excursion with Visvamitra is therefore part of the education of the princes. Vasishta is a perfect seer and a sage, well versed in all the arts and philosophy, practical arts not excepted. He knows what is warfare but he is not a warrior himself. He is never called upon to use his bow and arrow. It is true he won a victory over this very Visvamitra but he has won it through his spiritual powers. The physical art of warfare he has never practised himself, although he knows all the ins and outs of it. Rama learns all the great arts from him, and practises them too. But Vasishta himself feels that this education received at his hands, should be made perfect by an apprenticeship under a seasoned warrior who has himself taught and used the weapons of war, not theoretically in mere imagination, not as an expression of spiritual power, but as a soldier fighting on the battlefield with the bow and the arrow. In addition, he is the great sage who will give

practical instruction, for a life of high ideals. It is this which actuates Vasishta to goad on Dasaratha to send Rama with Visvamitra the erstwhile warrior who is at the same time a sage and a seer well versed in all the arts and the philosophies of that age.

Valmiki is the greatest of the bards, those messengers of the ancient world, going about their work by narrating tales of valour and love in the colourful courts of powerful kings or the festive congregations of common men. His art of story-telling assumes a new form in the present context of a conversation between the curious youths and the old man, on their way through the rivers, forests and groves, all strange and new to the princes who have been enjoying city life. It is not a catechism we are having but a real and natural conversation where the old man tries to come to the level of the youth. The narrative has to be fitted into this peculiar frame. To use a modern phraseology, one has here the play way method in education for life, through real activity. Life situations occur for explaining the geography and the history of the places visited, all tending to the final fruition of activity, of desroying evil, in the interests of the dumb cow and the spiritual seer—the highest ideal of any citizenship training. The frame-work of this play-way method creates problems of its own in this narrative of the story of Tataka. The high seriousness of the ideal, the cruel monstrosity of the villain, should not be neutralised by this playful spirit. The art of the story teller is almost at its breaking point but he has successfully negotiated the dangerous curves on his way by making the Rishi burst out, and intervene at the proper moments, and by finally crowning it all by the blessings of the Devas.

PART II

I

Keeping in mind this story as given in Valmiki, a comparative estimate of Kamban's version has to be attempted. The tragedy of Tataka is given in one chapter by Kamban, and the story therein begins with a reference to Kamashrama, so called because Lord Siva burnt to ashes Manmatha or

Cupid in that very place. The country itself, where Kama's anga (or body) fell, came to be known as Anga Desa. The whole of Valmiki's 23rd chapter is thus summarised in the opening two verses of Tataka Vatai-Patalam. The third verse is in one sense Kamban's own exclamation about that place of such divine association — an exclamation which the poet takes care, as a dramatist, to give us, as the very expression of Visvamitra. As will be presently seen, all this serves as a fitting introduction to the suggestive description of Tataka's desert.

What Kamban has omitted is equally important for arriving at a conclusion on his art. He does not refer to the crossing of the river after leaving Kamashrama, much less to the explanation of the gurgling noise of the waters. Nor does he waste his time in giving us the story of Indra's Bramahatti, his shedding the sin at the place — his consequent feeling of joy and his blessings on this land.

Above all, there is one important change which Kamban has introduced with telling effect. He does not follow Valmiki in describing this haunt of Tataka, as a land overgrown with wild vegetation and infested with terrible beasts and terrific birds. He describes it as a burning Sahara, if we may use that term. To make it more striking, he makes the actors stand before our very eyes in that most dreadful desert in the hot sun. The desolation there is complete. The description of this desert is full of hyperbole, perhaps best fitted to suggest the devastation by a supernatural demoness.

II

The sun drinks this favourite cup of land to its last dregs leaving not a drop of liquid nor an air of coolness. His banner of victory flies aloft there. It is there an eternal summer. The very God of burning fire, his heart will be scorched, if he were to think of this spot, and his eyes will burn away if he were to see it. (Kamban Tataka's Vatai-patalam.) Even the tongue describing the heat of this place will be consumed to ashes. The darkness supervening on the last day of destruction along with the vault of the heavens and the worlds intervening will be burnt to ashes. So will be

burnt a new Sun, rising afresh thereafter, and so will be the clouds — the lightening and the thunder. What else will escape this burning death. (6)

Even good things of worldly enjoyment present a cruel, ghastly and mortal appearance of the devil. The sweet scented aloe (akil) comes from the very entrails of the monstrous kalli, destroying its mother in the dance of death of that desert, this dance of death curiously enough becoming the very dance of her birth. The beautiful pearls splash forth from the splitting bamboo dried up and shorn of all its glory of green blades. Again a birth in death. The serpent there in its death pang of burning heat tears down its mouth, whilst from that womb of death its ruby flashes forth (8). The desert cracks and the rays of the gems on the heads of the serpent king of the Netherworlds, glisten and glow, lighting up the very vault of the heavens. But in that dreary, desolation they appear *like the blood streaming forth from the* cracking wounds on the body of our mother earth. (10) Thus the beautiful and fragrant articles of value and adornment instead of creating joy in the hearts of the spectators are made to inspire awe and horror. What a transformation ! only to be equalled by the metamorphosis of the beautiful Tataka into a demoness.

The very five elements are terrified by this burning heat. The ever expanding and galloping wind can never run there and escape. Where is the question of its standing in the desert ? The water-bearing dark clouds, how could they run over this desert which is drinking away all the water ? The fiery sun—his chariot can never run over this desert on his daily rounds to cross the heavens ; he can never travel straight ; he has to go round beyond the desert. The earth —how could it run away from this desert, its own form ? The fifth element—the ether—the heavens—the heavenly goddess of this desert in her ethereal terrific form, how can she run away from her heavenly charge ? (9).

Here the natural and deadly enemies like the elephants and the pythons famished and scorched, lie in mutual embrace of death. The elephant finds no shade except in the wide open mouth of the python, its very portal of death (11). This is the absolute empire of fire undisturbed by any other

king. The darkest things of the world are scorched. The crows and elephants lay dead like the clouds falling down scorched up by the fire of destruction (12). The mirage moving in the desert rears up its head, but out of pity for the devas of the heavens, it does not reach the heavens lest the latter should be burnt away. It bends and curls like a beautiful stream of water (13). The mirage raising up in the midst of the fire of the desert is the crystal throne adorned with gold legs specially prepared for the Lord of Summer reigning over that desert (14).

III

Surely this is not a place where the princes and the sage can leisurely saunter along and feel at home to converse about the history of the place. This conversation takes place in Valmiki on the cool waters of the Ganges, whilst the princes cross that river, and have a sight of Tataka's forest at a distance. Kamban however makes them hold this conversation in the very burning desert itself. He realises the dramatic awkwardness of such a situation, however effective it may be, for emphasising the desolation of this place brought about by Tataka. How is Kamban solving this dramatic problem of avoiding this awkwardness ?

Valmiki in his 22nd chapter, long before the crossing of the Ganges but immediately after the princes are brought from Dasaratha's palace, makes Visvamitra teach them in all solemnity the two great manthras which are to make Rama unequalled in all respects, to be free from the dangers of the Rakshasas and to be free even from the pangs of hunger and heat. Kamban however has not till now whispered a word about these manthras. After placing the princes inside this desert, he visualises a dramatic situation where they can be initiated into the mysteries of these magic formulae with telling effect. Visvamitra notices the flowerlike princes placed inside a cauldron of a desert (17) and hastens to teach them the manthras (18). What a change is wrought ?

The description of the desert reminds us of Milton's Paradise Lost—the liquid fire of hell. But the manthras make the princes walk as though on clear, crystal, cool waters. It looks as though the heat from the liquid fire has been re-

moved, reducing it to an innocuous cool streamlet of ordinary water (19). The worth of the pudding is in the eating. The manthras cease to be mere verbal statements. Their efforts are experienced by the princes then and there. In this way, the story of the manthras becomes most arresting from a dramatic point of view. Where there is no present experience of the diabolical heat, the conversation can start without any trouble; and it thus so starts. This is Kamban's solution of his problem of art.

IV

"Poetry is emotion recollected in tranquillity". The desert is no more a burning experience to the princes. There is a world of difference between looking at a battle from inside the army as the fighting soldier, and viewing it from the sereine heights of the mountain as a seer. This is the difference between actual life and romantic poetry. The classic heights of poetry can be and are reached here. It is not the distant sight of an onlooker but the living experience as it were of the wounded, transmuted and sublimated into poetry. The suffering and painful experience of the burning desert has been tasted. But at the present moment, thanks to the manthras, it is merely a recollection of the experienced emotion in all tranquillity. Thus is reached the sublime detachment of real poetry.

V

The conversation proceeds. Rama asks why the desert is wasting itself away. He remembers what Visvamitra has told them just before entering the desert about Siva reducing Kama to ashes. Rama's question is therefore coloured by newly acquired knowledge and he asks "Has that *Siva* burnt away this place as well?" (20). The very first dramatic speech in this padalam is that of Visvamitra, narrating with lightning speed the story of Kamashrama. The second dramatic speech is the question of Rama. The Story of Kama is itself made to serve the purpose of this main story of Tataka bringing about a greater cohesion and coherence than is found in Valmiki

VI

Here we see another peculiarity of Tamil poetry. The poets do not always proceed, when they use a simile or a metaphor, from the known to the unknown. When what they describe is already clear, invoking the correct emotion, they use for comparison ideas, especially moral ideas, which are not, *prima facie,* so very clear. This is one way of clothing the situation and their poetry with a moral grandeur. Rama asks "Why is this desert more desolate than the land of the sinful tyrant?" (20). This question reveals to us the high ideals of our statesman and prince Rama. This may be something unknown to the ordinary reader but an indirect way of preaching ideal statecraft.

In describing the desert, Kamban has compared it to the eternal heart burning of the self-respecting warrior forced to lose his honour by the trick of a deceitful rogue, of a coward unable to stand face to face before the hero, on a battlefield of raining arrows (7). The desert is again said to be as hard hearted as the minds of the prostitutes selling their love for gold (15). It remains unconcerned like the saints on their way to salvation, after burning away the three fortresses of their enemies—hatred, desire and ignorance—and after killing the two karmas (15). These suggestions take the readers to a higher level of idealism. This poetic legerdemain, Kamban has learnt from Valluvar.

The pun is Kamban's Will'o the Wisp even as it is Shakespeare's. The word *pasai* means watery trace of wetness as applied to the desert ; it means real love as applied to the prostitute and the fetter of desire as applied to the saints It is the trick of this pun that brings about the magic of a comparison amongst all these unconnected three.

VII

Coming back to the question raised by Rama it is not very difficult to realise that it is the very question Visvamitra has been expecting Rama to ask. The switch is thus turned on. The current flows. The sage begins to narrate the story of Tataka in such a way as to inspire the warrior with a determination to kill the demoness responsible for all

this desolation, murder and devastation. Visvamitra does not even mention the name of *this monster to start with. It* is a "she" who lives by killing the sweet lives of creation, an incarnation of death, as strong as one thousand elephants. Name is something like a magic creating a concrete reality. Tataka is in the beginning the name of a beautiful woman, and therefore the mention of that name at that stage, will create at once in our minds an indelible impression of womanhood and beauty, of kindness and love. To avoid this *impression, the sage does not* pronounce this name at all till he has described the personality as the very essence of death and devastation, cruelty and monstrosity. When this impression has *been allowed to take deeper roots, the name* is uttered as a synonym as it were of this monstrous horror. The most impure heart, without an atom of the milk of human kindness—the very devil red in tooth and nail—*full of cruel* valour and extreme hard heartedness—a veritable form of death—a woman incarnation of sin, with every part of it full of unnatural ugliness (39)—the quintessence of the life of the wandering murder and wilderness—a veritable death *unto sweet living* beings, the fire of death pampered on the eternal living beings all devoured in one gulp (21).

Before we proceed further, the textual problem faces us at this juncture. Some 17 verses (22 to 38) giving the parentage and family life of a Tataka as a beautiful woman and *finally* her metamorphosis into a devil are not found in a few manuscripts which however straightway proceed to describe the present without troubling us about the past. It is *better at this stage to* follow these manuscripts leaving the 17 verses for being taken for study at a later stage.

Visvamitra continues the blood curdling description of Tataka. "Tataka is the supernatural power of *evil and incarnation* of sin in the form of a woman. She is a frightful thundering stormy sea; born with its poisonous mountains ever ablaze with the fire of final destruction, with not one but two crescent moons (40). This cruel monster adorned *with serpents* stands always ready to throw that tridant on others—this denizen of the desert—her name is Tataka."(41).

This very form of monstrosity and ugliness, more than a mere remembrance to Visvamitra, stands *in strong contrast*

to the bewitching beauty of this warrior prince Rama—a masculine beauty driving even men so mad as to pray for a feminine form for themselves. (41). Kamban thus emphasises Tamilian conception of God as beauty by making it stand before the embodiment of ugliness. The sage gives expression to this thought of his and continues.

"Even as the defect of the supervening desire destroys single handed all the good qualities in man, so does this demoness all alone destroy and lay desolate the great expanse of habitable land, once so full of incomparable yields (42). She is in the service of Ravana, and obstructs the due performance of my sacrifice. She kills all the species of living beings in this part of the country this Angadesa—sanctified by Siva's burning down Kama. She roams about revelling in this wholesale slaughter (43)."

"You are the son of a great king who strives for ever to protect and perpetuate the living beings, looking upon them all as the very life of his life. What more is there to tell you? In a few days she will devour away all the living beings—those eternal beings of creation." (44).

VIII

Rama full of astonishment shakes his head significantly in the usual Indian way, and asks in all haste where the authoress of this cruel act resides, as though ready to pounce upon her in righteous indignation (45). Hardly as the sage completed the sentence "She lives here in this very mountain," when Tataka walks in like a mountain of fire (46). Thus is created another dramatic situation.

Kamban again indulges in his passion for hyperbole, as usual for the purpose of reminding us of the supernatural powers of the demoness. The jingling stones of her anklets are the very mountains at every step of hers the earth goes down into a deep cavern of vacuum into which rushes the waters of the sea, while the mountains near by rush after her, carried along by her momentum (47). Kamban's science colours thus his imagination. Tataka bites her lips and stares, as though her two eyes are two eternal fires of destruction (48). She rises up frightening even the thunder, the heavens

and all the worlds. She is adorned with the necklace of living elephants twisting their trunks with each other (49). She laughs at these new comers, grinds her teeth and glances as though at the very god of death (50). There she speaks, "With my unconquerable strength I have destroyed everything within my jurisdiction. Have you come to offer me the tasteful flesh made thus scarce or have you been driven by your fate?" (51). She is all anger and concludes, "I shall throw this trident to pierce through your hearts" (52).

They are thus standing on the very brink of the precipice of death. Rama knows Visvamitra's intention though as yet unexpressed. But he is not aiming at her with his arrows. This great soul thinks that after all she is a woman (53).

Visvamitra understands what is passing in the mind of Rama. Is he not a great seer? (54). His great disappointment and consequent resentment become clear. Perhaps, Rama feels the sages are safe, they being very much alive. Visvamitra proceeds to clear up this possible misapprehension. "All that is sinful she has done—she has not eaten us all away, it is true—that is however because we are but chaff to her" (55).

"Should one think of this cruel one as a woman? It is indeed a matter of great scorn for a great warrior to kill a woman bashful by nature. But here the mighty masculine shoulders of the fearless heroes lie vanquished by the merest mention of her name. Pray tell me who is considered to be masculine? (56). Indra himself ran away defeated. What to say of others? The mantara mountains are her shoulders. In masculinity what difference is there between the so-called men and this so-called woman?" (57). A few verses are here found in some manuscripts which would be considered by us later on.

"Oh great descendant of the protector of this world, should she be masculine in form also, she who is setting herself against the great souls, kills the living beings meant for eternity, destroying the very Dharma? (62). Death waits for the appointed day, and even then considers the virtuous acts for sending the people to the heavens; it does not like

this monster stand with its mouth watering merely, at listening to another's statement that flesh is being smelt (63). What can be more simple than her mean act of masticating and devouring the innumerable living beings even before their spans of appointed life come to an end? To think of her as a woman bespeaks of very poor imagination" (64). The sage proceeds to assure that he is not speaking out of anger but after deep consideration over the eternal Dharma. "To stand pacified in her presence is not Dharma, kill her" (65).

X

There is no room for further parley on this battle ground. In passing, one may notice the similarity between this battle-field and the famous Kuru-kshethra, where Krishna goads on Arjuna to kill the enemies arrayed against him, giving up the deluding karpanya or soft heartedness masquerading as universal love. Rama majestically concedes not without an internal struggle and a pang "If occasion arises demanding the performance of something other than Dharma—mark he does not say adharma — if I am commanded to perform that, O thou incarnation of truth, thy word is my Bible, and to do as thou biddest is indeed the way to perform one's duty" (66).

XI

Tataka realises Rama's determination and taking time by the forelock hurls her spear at Rama (67). The trident came on Rama like Rahu coming to eclipse the moon (68). Nobody sees Rama bending his bow or releasing his arrow. It is all done in the twinkling of an eye, for there lies her spear broken to pieces (69). She brings a downpour of brickbats on Rama, but he raises a counter storm of arrows (70). His burning arrows, rushing fast, like the unfailing words of the sages immediately coming true, are aimed at this damsel of darkness, and they pierce through her adamantine chest, rushing away without finding a lodgment inside there, like the great things uttered by the learned to the uneducated (71)—another example of Kamban inspiring the story with his lofty ethical idealism through his similes. It is indeed very difficult to bring out the enchanting music of the

words or to plumb the depths of the thoughts of this oft quoted verse.

She falls down dead—as though the victorious banner of Ravana ominously broke down to pieces (73). It is all now a flood of blood. (72) It looks like the red sky of the twilight falling down without a support (74). The god of death so long afraid of Ravana has after all the taste of Rakshasa's blood (75).

The scene closes with the Devas showering their rain of flowers in grateful recognition of Rama's act, requesting the sage to bless the prince with divine weapons (76).

(To be continued)

Education in the Ancient Tamil Countries

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CHAPTER I — THE TAMIL COUNTRIES

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THAMILAKAM (Ptolemy's "Damarike") was the word used in the ancient Tamil works to denote the Tamil countries.[1] The boundaries of Thamilakam changed from time to time and hence different accounts were given in the Sangam and other ancient Tamil works. According to Tholkappiyam, the most ancient Tamil work existent, the Northern boundary was Venkada Hill[2] and the East and the West were bounded by sea.[3] The southern boundary which is mentioned in Tholkappiyam merely as 'Kumari' has been a subject of dispute among the commentators of this work.[4] There are other scholars too who have different opinions. It can be, at any rate, said that the 'Kumari' referred to in Tholkappiyam was the name of a river. Sikandiar, the author of Isainunukkam, mentions the boundaries of the then Thamilakam. In one of his poems he refers to the river in unmistakable terms as 'Kumarith-Theempunal'.[5] An-

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1 Pathittuppathu—Pathigam II ; Manimekalai—17. 62 ; Silappathikaram III. 37.

2 Called Thirupathy at present.

3 "வடவேங்கடம் தென்குமரியாயிடைத் தமிழ் கூறு நல்லுலகம்". — Tholkappiyam — Payiram.

4 Tholkappiyam — Porulathigaram — Nachinarkiniyam — Eluththathigaram — Ilampooranar, p. 809.

5 "வேங்கடம் குமரித் தீம்புனற் பௌவம்." —Isainunukkam, P. 4.

other poetess, Kakkaipadiniyar by name, uses this very same word to denote the south boundary of the Thamilakam.[6]

This southern portion appears to have been submerged by the sea reducing the Thamilakam to its present limit. According to Silappathigaram, which was written in the second century A.D., the southern boundary of Thamilakam was Cape Kumarine called Kumari Munai by Tamil scholars. There is ample evidence to the submergence of large areas by the sea in the ancient Tamil works[7] as well as in other works like the Rasavali[8] and the Mahavamsa[9] which were written by Ceylonese.

The Silappathigaram says "The river pahruli and the Kumari Mountain were submerged by sea."[10] This is confirmed by Panamparanar in a verse[11] composed by him: Adiyarkku Nallar, the famous commentator of Silappathigaram gives the names, positions and the extent of the lands which went under the sea.

In the ancient times Thamilakam was composed of the three Tamil Kingdoms called Pandya, Chola and Chera. These were also known as Thenpulam, Kunapulam and Kudapulam, respectively, according to their positions. In later times Thondai Nadu with Kanchi as its capital became the fourth Thamil Nadu along with the older three nadus.

Auvaiyar speaks of the boundaries of these four Nadus as they were found in the 12th Century A.D. in four stanzas.[12] She has also connected these four countries of the Thamilakam in a venba, which reads—"The mountainous tracts of Cheranadu is full of elephants ; the fertile land of the Cholas is noted for its rich harvests of paddy ; the southern

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6 "வடக்குந் தெற்கும் குணக்கும் குடக்கும்
வேங்கடங் குமரித் தீம்புனற் பௌவ மென்று
இந்நான்கு கெல்லே யகவயிற் கிடந்த......"

7 Kalithokai, 104, 1-4 ; Iraianar Ahapporulurai, p. 5.

8 Rasavali, P. 188.

9 Mahavamsam, P. 61 ; Also see Tennant's History of Ceylon, pp. 5-10.

10 "பஃறுளி யாற்றுடன் பன்மலேயடுக்கத்துக்
குமரிக் கோடுங் கொடுங்கடல் கொள்ள."

11 Kurunthokai 50.

12 Thanippadatiraddu,

land of the Pandiyas is famous for its pearls ; the Thondainadu has men of culture and learning.

At present Thamilakam consists of the southern part of the Madras Presidency and some portions of the States of Travancore and Cochin. The Tamil speaking population of these areas is calculated as 18,517,415 in 1947.[13] The Northern and Eastern Provinces of Ceylon can also be deemed as a part of this Thamilakam as Tamils have been living in these areas from ancient times. The number of the Ceylon Tamils is nearly eight hundred thousand.

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CHAPTER II

THE TAMILS—THEIR ORIGIN, CULTURE AND CIVILISATION

The people who lived in Thamilakam were called Tamils. Whether the Tamils were the indigenous people of India, or whether they came down to India as the Aryans and the other tribes did in later times, is still a highly controversial subject. Various theories have been propounded by European and Indian scholars.

Dr. Caldwell,[1] Kanagasabaipillai,[2] Marshman,[3] Ferguson,[4] Kennedy,[5] Tirupathy[6] and some other scholars fixed the original home of the Tamils outside India. Pooranalingampillai, however, made an attempt to show that the theories of some of these scholars were all conjectural. From a study of the findings at Harappa and Mohenjo Daro and of the ancient Tamil Literature a good portion of which is available only now, Pooranalingampillai put forward the theory that the Tamils were the aborigines of the lost Lemuria.[7]

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13 Statistical Handbook of the Constituent Assembly of India.

1 A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages.

2 Tamils 1800 years ago.

3 History of India.

4 History of Indian and Eastern Architecture.

5 J. R. S. Journal.

6 Ancient India.

7 History of Tamil Literature & Tamil India.

This is not easily rejected. The continent of Lemuria covered a vast area that extended from the present Tamil countries into the Indian Ocean.[8] The Tamil works faintly speak of this area as Sambuththeevu or Navalantheevu.[9] As a result of successive deluges this mass of land disappeared from the face of the earth leaving that portion of land south of Vindhya Hills which is now called the Deccan. The fact of these deluges has been accepted by most students of Geology, History and Anthropology. Professor Haeckal's view on the cradle of the human race also confirms this theory.[10] H. Risely was of opinion that the Deccan was one of the most ancient geological formations in the world.[11] This supports the fact of the continued existence of Deccan for milleniums. Therefore, it is possible that the Tamils have been living in the Deccan not only since the dawn of History as Risely himself said, but also from time immemorial. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar too, having analysed critically the ancient Tamil words and customs, comes to the conclusion that "It may therefore be taken as fairly certain that the Tamils were indigenous to South India."[12]

It is not out of place to refer to the comment made by Parimelalakar, on the word "Palankudy" found in one of the verses of Thirukkural. He explains the meaning of this word lucidly as "The families living continuously since the creation of the world." Purapporulvenbamalai, one of the ancient Tamil works, contains another interesting reference to the high antiquity of the Tamil race. Speaking on the antiquity of one family it says that the forefathers of this family came into existence when the world was only a rock before the formation of soil.[13] All these go a long way to show that the Tamils were the aborigines of the submerged Lemuria of which the Deccan has only been left by the devouring sea.

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8 Lost Lemuria—Scott Elliot; History of Creation, Vol. II, pp. 325-326—Professor Haeckal.

9 Manimekalai II—107; Perunkathai 2,28 : 76; Appar Thevaram 11-6.

10 History of Creation and Pedigree of Man, p. 173.

11 The Peoples of India, p. 2.

12 History of the Tamils, p. 213.

13 "கற்றோன்றி மண் தோன்றாக் காலத்தே
முற்றோன்றி முற்பட்ட குடி".

"The Hypothesis" says Dr Ferguson,[14] "that would represent what we know of their (Dravidians) history most correctly is that which places their original seat in the extreme south. They have no traditions which point to any seat of their race outside India, or of their having migrated from any with whose inhabitants they can claim any kindred. So far as we know they are indigenous and original."

This view of Dr. Ferguson is confirmed by Dr. Grierson who says in the Linguistic Survey of India, "that the Dravidian race is commonly considered to be the aborigines of India or at least Southern India, and we have no information to show that they were not the aboriginal inhabitants of the South." Dr. Maclean also holds this view.[15]

The Tamils of Lemuria or at least of the Deccan which was formerly a part of Lemuria, migrated to North India and to various places outside India.[16] Hence, we find an advanced civilisation in Mohenjo Daro and Harappa before 3000 B. C. Scholars like Father Heras link this civilisation with that of the Dravidians.[17] But there are some other scholars who are not prepared to subscribe to this view. The worship of Siva has been accepted without any reservations whatever, even by eminent European Scholars like MaxMuller and Rev. G. U. Pope, as the singular cult of the Tamils in South India.[18] The prevalence of the worship of Siva among the inhabitants of Mohenjo Daro is undoubtedly a pointer as to the relationship of the Dravidians with the people of Mohenjo-Daro.

Sir John Marshall himself says 'There is no reason to assume that the culture of this region was imported from other lands or that its character was profoundly modified by outside influences'.[19] This view inevitably leads to the conclusion that the Mohenjo-Daro civilisation is a part and parcel of the ancient and pre-Aryan civilisation of India

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[14] Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IV.

[15] Manual of Madras Administration, Vol. I.

[16] India and Pacific World, p. 279—Kalidas nag.

[17] Sight of the Mohenjo Daro Riddle—The New Review, No. 19, Vol. iv.

[18] South Indian Bronzes, p. 47—G. O. Gangoly.

[19] Mohenjo Daro and Indus Civilisation.

which is undoubtedly the Dravidian civilisation. This conclusion is supported by the contention of R. Risely who says "The Dravidians were the original inhabitants of the Indian Peninsula and developed a *civilisation* which was taken to Mesopotamia and formed the basis of Semitic civilisation."[15]

After nearly 2000 years of the Mohenjo Daro civilisation the 'wheat coloured' *Aryans descending into the plains of* Punjab about 1500 B. C. found a race of people whom they called the Dasus and with whom they waged a bitter but successful struggle.[16] This war undoubtedly forms the historical background of the Vedas.

Whatever be the connection of the Mohenjo-Daro civilisation with the Dravidian or rather Tamilian[17] civilisation, the Tamils in India had an advanced civilisation at least 1000 years before the coming of the Aryans to India.[18] This theory is supported by the Hymns of Rigveda itself.[19]

The Dasus or the Tamils lived in cities throughout India. Their kings were famous for their wealth. They had innumerable cows, horses, and chariots. These were kept in forts with hundred doors. The Dasus beautified themselves with golden jewelleries and diamonds. They did not accept the religious practices of the Aryans. The traders were called 'Panikars' and they carried out their business by sea and land with countries even in Europe[20] and Africa.

The *civilisation* of the Tamils and their language influenced greatly the Aryan civilisation and the Sanskrit Language and the dialects of the North Indians too.[21] In course of time the Aryans gradually incorporated the indigenous

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15 The Peoples of India.

16 Rigved 1, 33.

17 Dravida & Dravidian—The origin of these words was explained by Dr. Caldwell. No mention of these is made in the ancient Tamil works.

18 Discovery of India—by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.
Dravidian Element in Indian Culture—G. Slater.
Ancient India, pp. 9-29—Rapson. pp. 53, 54.
The Ancient History of the New East—J. R. Hall.

19 Rigveda Hymns 1-33; Vedic India—Z. A. Ragozin, 1-104; 1-12.

20 Life in Ancient India—P. T. S. Iyengar.

21 Lecture on the Ancient History of India—D. R. Bandarkar.

people in their communities and became the predominant race of North India. But in South India their attempt at subjugation of the South Indians by force never succeeded. Asoka, one of the greatest Emperors of North India, extended his Maurya Empire only as far as Kalinga. The attraction of the fertile plains of Kavery and Thamraparni was so great that the Aryans could not resist it. Infiltration by Aryans took place and they entered Thamilakam as colonists, tutors and priests and gradually influenced the Kings of the Tamil countries. As a result of this peaceful penetration Aryan culture introduced a vigorous element into the body politic of South India and superimposed its religion and to some extent its institutions on the South, though it could not deprive it of its individuality. The structure of society, language and custom remained essentially Tamilian.

The majority of the Aryans who entered Thamilakam were Brahmins and these Brahmins were mainly responsible for the worst caste distinctions now found in the Tamil countries. Claiming themselves as the highest caste in the world—the Gods of this world—they successfully introduced the caste distinctions even into Saiva religion for their own ends. They also went to the extent of calling their language Sanskrit as the language of the Gods. They reduced the Tamil language to a position of a dialect of their language purposely hiding its independent origin.[22] Sanskrit authors like Kshmendra and others spitefully called the Tamil language as " Paisachi " the language of the demons. The Brahmins also had their own settlements which were named as " Sathurvethimangalams " and " Piramapurams " in the South Indian inscriptions. These settlements were the seats of vedic studies in the Tamil land until very recently.

Buddhism and Jainism also found their way to South from early times, introducing the Aryan culture and modifying that of Thamilakam. The literary works of the Buddhists and Jains have no doubt enriched the Tamil Literature.

The history of the Tamils who lived in the Thamilakam of South India from ancient times cannot be traced easily

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22 Thavaram Illai, pp. 34, 23 (by the same author).

due to the paucity of evidence available. Yet the three South Indian Kingdoms seem to have been well known in ancient times. The rock Edicts of Asoka belonging to the IVth Century B. C. mention them.[23] Megasthenes, Greek ambassador to the Court of Chandra Gupta Maurya speaks of the Pandyan kingdom, its wealth and the strength of its armies. The Sanskrit grammarian Katyayanaa whom Dr. Bhandarkar places in the 4th Century B.C. refers to them. Valmiki's Ramayana and Mahabaratha too describe them. Strabo (22 B. C.) mentions a king "Pandio." Periplus (81 A. D.) and Ptolemy (180 A. D.) give details of the principal ports and marts of South India and indicate that they were places of great antiquity.

Apart from these foreign references the Sangam works are the only evidence now available in the Tamil country for a history of the early Tamils and their civilisation.

Tradition and Tamil literary and grammatical works make mention of three Tamil Sangams[24] which are said to have existed successively for a long time almost before the Christian era. Interesting details of these Sangams are given in the commentary on Iraryanar's Ahapporul. It fixes the beginning of the First Sangam about ten thousand years before the Birth of Christ. The existence of these Sangams is seriously challenged by critical scholars as the accounts of them are full of improbabilities and inconsistencies.[25] Even though it is very difficult to decide the beginning of the first Sangam and the duration of the three Sangams, it is now almost certain that they existed for a long time before the third century A. D.[26] The traditions and the puranic versions as well as the copious references in the ancient Tamil works[27] to the existence of these Sangams cannot be easily ignored. Moreover, the traditions of India are not wholly devoid of historical element.[28]

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23 Rock Edicts, 11, xiii.

24 Assemblies of learned men. Somewhat akin to Academic Royale in the days of Louis XIV.

25 The Chronology of Early Tamils, pp. 24 and 25.

26 The Pandyan Kingdom, p. 36—K. A. N. Sastri.

27 Sangathamilum Pitkalaththamilum, pp. 5-21.

28 Lectures and Essays, Vol. II p. 199—Pro. W. F. Clifford.

The ancient history of Deccan and its inhabitants has not yet been traced fully and the archaeological surveys of South India are yet in their infancy. When the surveys are completed we can reasonably hope that there will be enough material to throw light on the existence of the Sangams[27a] and on the activities of the ancient Tamils in the sacred field of education.

The Ancient Tamils who had a flourishing trade about 4000 B.C. with the Chaldeans[28] and other ancient tribes and kings like Solomon[29] should have certainly had a high standard of education and advanced civilisation so as to enable them to cross the high seas at a time when the Mariners compass was not known. Besides, trading is a complicated business demanding accurate calculation, correct book-keeping and last but not least business acumen of first class order. Hence, those traders had not only the prerequisites of their calling but also a working knowledge of the languages of those races with whom they conducted their business. It is a fact that advance in trade and commerce wih foreign lands follows the advance of education in a country.

Therefore, it is not improbable that the Ancient Tamils who were undoubtedly great sea farers and big merchants had an advanced system of education in their own land.

The Sangams were set up to stimulate the study of language and Literature. The Tamil Kings who were themselves great scholars and who enjoyed the company of scholars would have perhaps established the Sangams to facilitate the meeting of the best poets of their lands. In course of time these three Sangams, in fact, did the work of the modern critics, and publication boards. The members reviewed the works submitted for approval, and discussed the subject matter and the style of the works with their authors. Besides considering the merits of the works of others, the members of these assemblies who were undoubtedly the cream of the scholars of the land, produced a good number of works on

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27a Senthamil Vol. 38 - 1.

28 Hibbert Lectures, p. 137—Prof. A. H. Sayce.

29 Kingsix-x.

Literature, grammar and even on subjects like Music and Dancing.

As the accounts given by the commentary to Iraiyanar's *Ahapporul* throws some light on the conditions of education in the Ancient Tamil countries, for a long period before the Christian Era, a summary of it is not out of place in a work that deals with the education of the Tamils.

According to that work the First Sangam had 549 poets including Akaththyanar, Siva, Murugavel, Kudinagarayar and Nithiyinkilavan. The number of poets who composed literary works during the 4440 years of its duration was 4449. Some of those works were Paripadal, Muthunarai, Muthukurugu and Kalariyavirai. The venue of the meeting of the poets was Madura which was submerged by sea. Eighty nine Pandya Kings from Kaisinavaluthy down to Kadunkone supported the poets. Some of these kings also produced literary works. The guiding work was "Agaththiyam".[30]

The Second Sangam has 59 Scholars including Akathiyar, Tholkappiyar, Karunkoli, Mosi, Kappiyan, Pandarangan, Thirayanmaran, Thuvaraikone and Keeranthai. The poems of 3700 poets were reviewed by them. Kali, Kurgu, Vendali, Viyalamaila are some of the works of this Sangam. The meeting place of it was Kapadapuram. This Sangam existed for 3700 years during the reigns of 59 Kings from Vendarseliyan to Mudathirumaran. Five of these kings too, were poets of reputation. The standard works used by the Scholars during this period were Akathiyam, Tholkappiyam, Mapuranam, Isaininukkam and Poothapuranam. Pandya Nadu was submerged by sea during this sangam.[31]

The Third Tamil Sangam met at Uththara Madurai and had its sessions under the patronage of 49 kings of whom the first was Mudaththirumaran and the last Ukkirapperu-

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30 The name Akaththiyar, author of this work, was connected with a number of works produced during the last 20 centuries without any regard to the time factor. *Cf.* Rev. Pope's Introduction to the Naladiyar, p. xi. Twenty-one persons with the name of Agaththiyar seem to have lived in India at different times. Agaththiyar Varalaru, p. 26—A. Sithambaranar.

31 Tamil Varalaru, pp. 28-44—R. Ragava Iyengar.

valuthy. It had a membership of 49 poets some of whom were Sirumethaviyar, Senthampoothanar, Arivudaiyanar, Perunkkunroorklar, Thirumaran, Nallanthuvanar, Naruthanillanaganar and Nakkeerar. Including these members 449 scholars composed many a work during 1950 years. The guiding books were Akaththiyam and Tholkappiyam. The works of this Sangam are generally known as Kadaisanga Noolkal or merely as Sanganoolkal.

In spite of their inconsistencies and inaccuracies, these accounts taken in conjunction with other references in Tamil Literature and Puranic works enable us to think that the Tamils had an advanced system of education which was able to produce from time to time such a great number of poets. They also point to an attempt made by the Tamils to control the production of various works and also to allow only the excellent productions for circulation among the masses. The necessity for such a control would have been warranted by the production of innumerable works during those times by many scholars.

The Tamil Kings became the patrons of these Sangams. It is not a novel thing for a well organised Government to stimulate learning by its patronage and financial support. The members of these assemblies were gathered from all the places of the Tamil land. They were fed and looked after by the Kings.

Among the Tamil works referred to in the accounts of the Sangam only Tholkappiyam, Melkanakku and Killkanakku[32] are available at present. The other works[33] are lost for ever except for some lines quoted by the commentators. One stanza in Thiruvilaiyadal Puranam tells us of the subject matter of the Tamil works lost for ever when the erosion by sea took place at the end of the Second Sangam.

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[32] The works of Kadaisangam are divided into two groups. Melkanakku or higher classics and Kilkanakku or lesser classics. In each group there are 18 works. The higher classics are again divided into two groups—Edduththokai and Paththup Paddu.

[33] Full and exhaustive accounts of these were given by the author in an article entitled "The Works We Lost". Kalanithy Vol. I, Sec. 1 & 2.

The time of the composition of Tholkappiyam is yet a subject of dispute.[34] As a reference the Sanskrit Grammar Indiram, is made in the preface to Tholkappiyam some scholars are of opinion this grammar was written before Panineeyam, the composition of which is fixed by European scholars at 700 B.C. The consensus of opinion is that Tholkappiyam is the oldest Tamil work now extant.[35]

The lower limit of the Kadai Sangam works is accepted as the second or third century A.D. by both Indian and European Scholars.[36] Internal evidence from these works suggests that Tholkappiyam was the standard Grammar which guided the poets to compose these works. Tholkappiyam itself says in many a sutra there are works on grammar, literature and even on music before its composition. Hence the beginning of Tamil Literature could not be fixed accurately as we have lost those works. But it can be safely said that for many centuries before the Christian era the Tamils had a good number of works on Tamil literature, and other subjects. This fact is clearly confirmed by Rev. Pope who says—"The Ancient Grammatical works existing in Tamil and its wonderful metrical system prove its assiduous cultivation for long ages. An elaborate scientific series of metres, such as Tamil glories in, adapted to every style and theme of composition is the growth of centuries. Classical Tamil bears every mark of slow and natural evolution."[37]

Tholkappiyam and the Kadaisangam works are the only source of information for us to trace the history of education in ancient times in the Tamil countries. These priceless

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34 The Chronology of the Ancient Tamils, Appendix IX—Sivaraja Pillai.

Illakkiya Varalaru, p. 82.—K. S. Pillai.

35 Tamil Varalaru, p. 137—Ragava Iyengar.

36 (*a*) Early History, pp. 471-472 & No. 4. p. 457—V. A. Smith.

(*b*) "Most Tamil scholars are agreed in referring the Oldest Tamil Literature to the first three centuries of our era and I see nothing improbable in this."—Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. II, p. 214—Sir Charles Elliot.

(*c*) The Pandyan Kingdom, p. 36—K. A. N. Sastri.

(*d*) Elakkiya Varalaru, p. 98—K. S. Pillai.

37 Introduction to the Translation of Naladiyar, p. x—Rev. G. U. Pope.

literary treasures of the Tamils are very rarely known to the outside world.[38] The studies in Sanskrit progressed as a result of translations from Sanskrit into European languages and mainly into English. This has undoubtedly produced a number of works on the culture and civilisation of the Aryans of North India and made foreign scholars to speak of the greatness of India, in terms of Aryan culture and Sanskrit language only. The Tamils who can, as Professor Jules Block says[39] 'boast of antique and original culture', and a civilisation which is perhaps the oldest in the world[40] and a language which too is the oldest language of India[41] and perhaps the world, have suffered as a result of the paucity of translations from Tamil to the European languages. Even the present popularity and reputation of this language is due to the few Europeans who have studied the Tamil language and literature and did some sort of pioneer work in telling the world of the purity and the antiquity of the Tamil language and literature. Unfortunately, some of these scholars could not lay their hands on these Sangam works in which, to quote Prof. Jules Block again, 'There probably is still much to be discovered'.[42]

These sangam works reveal a people of great civilisation and culture. They give descriptions of the three capitals

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38 "Caivism is the old pre-historic religion of South India ; essentially existing from Pre-Aryan times and holds sway over the Tamil people. But this great attempt to solve the problems of God, soul, humanity, nature, evil, suffering and the unseen world, has never been fully expounded in English." Samaya Kuravar & Santhana Kuravar—Rev. G. U. Pope.

39 *Introduction to the Translation of Silappadikaram*—V. R. Tickshitar.

40 " They (the Tamils) are the foremost amongst the peoples of India."—Rev. G. U. Pope ; Tamilar Charitram—Foreword by Swami Gnanaprakasar—Senthamil *Volume 39—1.*

41 It (Tamil) stands alone without any predecessor. In origin, it must be long anterior to the Sanskrit "—Manual of Standing Information for the Madras Presidency. Also *vide* Manual of *Madras Administration* Vol. 1, p. 43. The largest proportion of the words used in Pro-Dravidian are also found in Tamil. This confirms the common belief that Tamil is the oldest of the present languages." (Sight of the Mohenjo Daro Riddle—Father H. Heras. The New Review, No. 19, Vol. IV.

42 Introduction to the Translation of Silappadikaram—V. R. Dikshitar.

of Chola, Chera and Pandya, as glowing with life. In the busy streets were peoples of many nations.[43] The Municipal administration was excellent. Roads and streets were kept in good condition and lighted.[44] Seven storied bulidings were not uncommon.[45] Life in the town was one of luxury and ease. They took delight in Literature, Music, Dancing, and Religion.[46] Women decked themselves with costly attire and made themselves attractive, decorating their bodies with jewels and garlands and scented pastes and powders.[47] Village life was orderly and contented and people following their hereditary occupations, created the economic wealth of the country. The kings were benevolent despots working for the welfare of their subjects dealing out law and justice. The Government was personal but the king was advised by his council. Officials administered the provinces.[48] Not only in the materialistic way of living but also in the fields of religion and philosophy and spirituality the Tamils reached an advanced stage both in theory and practice A good portion of the Tamil works speak of virtues and morals and they remind everyone of us to his duty towards the development of his personality and his service to the society. "*Yathum Ure Yavarum Kelir*"[49] is one of the famous maxims expressed in Purnanooru. This shows the belief of the ancient Tamils in Universal brotherhood. They also gave expression in unmistakable terms to the existence of only one God, one Supreme Being and only one race in the whole world.[50]

The Sangam works in short, reflect, in the words of Rev. Pope "a strong sense of moral obligation, an earnest aspiration after righteousness, a fervent and unselfish charity and generally a loftiness of aim that are very impressive."[51]

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43 Paddinappalai, LL 216, 217.

44 Mathuraikkanchi LL 250-770.

45 Paddinappalai L 145.

46 *Ibid.*, L 113.

47 Silappathigaram Canto 6.

48 Dikshitar—Hindu Administrative Institutions.

49 Puranam 192.

50 Thirumanthiram 107.

51 Naladiyar Introduction, p. xi.

A great people and a great culture are not made in a day. They are the result of centuries of progress and evolution. The cultural heritage of the ages are treasured to a 'life beyond life' by the creative capacity of its peoples in their literary and artistic works. Education is the means which makes the preservation of a culture and the creative process possible. It is that which gives the vision without which a people perish.

(to be continued)

The Scholarship of Simon Casie Chitty

VIDWAN F. X. C. NATARAJAH

SIMON Casie Chitty was born in a small town called Calpitya on the 21st of March 1807 almost at the beginning of British rule in Ceylon. He started his career as an interpreter Mudaliyar in the Magistrate Court of Puttalam. His pre-eminent ability and efficiency soon secured for him the district Mudaliyarship and Maniagarship of Puttalam in 1833. Nor did he confine himself to public service ; he responded to the call of national service and sat in the Legislative Council from 1838 - 1845. Later he was appointed to the Civil Service and served as a District Judge of Chillaw until his untimely death in 1852. It is really tragical that a man so highly endowed with pre-eminent intellectual and scholarly attributes should have been removed by death in the prime of his life.

Mr. Simon Casie Chitty had not advantage of a normal University Education. He was a self made man in every sense of that term. An untiring worker in the field of Oriental Languages he made contributions to Tamil and local History which are of permanent value and interest. He was one of the greatest among the pioneer orientalists and antiquarians of whom Ceylon is so proud. His intellectual exertions covered a wide range of research in oriental languages and Ceylon History. Not only was he a master of Tamil, Sanskrit, Sinhalese, Arabic and Hebrew but also he was equally learned grand daughter, the late Mrs. Gardener, had it published in his days as a man of versatile genius. The greater is his merit, if we take note of the fact that he was almost entirely self taught.

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Already in his seventeenth year he conceived the idea of compiling the origins of various races that inhabited Ceylon, and the origins of the place names in our country. The publication known as the Ceylon Gazetteer saw the light of the day in 1834. Himself unable to meet the cost of publication he successfully prevailed upon Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, the then Governor of Ceylon to meet the cost of its publication out of the Government funds. Only 500 copies were printed. There is one copy available at the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, Colombo. The Secretary of States for Colonies was quick to recognise the services of this talented young man and awarded a hundred guineas as a graceful tribute to his abilities and labours. The press in Ceylon did not lag behind in praise of this compilation. Says the "Observer" Editorial of March 17th 1833 :

"The author of the Gazetter, Simon Casie Chitty, Modliar, a native of the Island, has rendered himself deserving of lasting praise for the manner in which he has combated with and overcome the difficulties that must have presented themselves, while collecting materials for the accomplishment of his arduous undertaking and the complete success that has attended his efforts proves him to be a man possessed of a degree of energy for which his countrymen generally, seldom have credit, but which ought in him to be liberally awarded, so that others may be induced to exert themselves and pursue the same useful course equally advantaging the island and benefiting the community at large."

The readers of this quarterly may naturally desire to read a few lines from the Gazetteer. For the benefit and interest of our readers, I shall quote the lines wherein he has traced the origin of the name of our Country, Sri Lanka.

"Ceylon : The Island of which this work treats is situated at the western entrance of the Bay of Bengal between the parallels of 5° 50′ and 9° 50′ North Latitude and 79° 50′ and 82° 10′ East longitude. It is separated from the south eastern extremity of the Coromandel Coast by the Gulf of Mannar and is distant about 140 miles from Comorin on the Malabar Coast. Its length may be estimated at about 280 miles while the breadth varies from 40 to 170 miles. It is much broader

in the southern than in the northern part resembling in general outline the shape of a ham; hence the narrow peninsula of Jaffna received from the Dutch the name of Hamsheel and the projecting angle of Point Pedro that of Hamsheel Point. Its superficial extent is computed at 24,664 square miles but no accurate survey of it has yet been made whereby to fix it with precision.

The Island is usually called "Lankawe" by the Sinhalese "Ilangei" by the Malabars, "Tera Lanka" by the Siamese, and "Lankapoore" by the Javanese. All from the Sanskrit "Lanka" which signifies "holy" or resplendent. The Burmese call it "Theho or Zehoo." In history it bears the name of "Sinhaladwipa" (or the island of lionlike men) from which originated the modern appellation Seilan or Ceylon and its Arabic predecessors Seylandiva, Selendib or Serendib — some derive these names from the Sale or Challias, who, however settled at too late a period on the Island for this to be correct. It is likewise called "Hebenaro" or "the fertile land," "Eslam" or "the insular kingdom" and Tenasserim or "the place of delight." Among the Greeks and Romans it was known by the name of "Taprobane," the etymology of which is disputed by many authors. Some deduce it from the Phoenician words "Tap-parvain" or "the shore of Parvain"; alleging that the latter (whom they identify with the modern Paravas) were at one time the masters of the commerce of the Island; others from "Tapo-rawan" or the Island of Rawana" the giant king who was conquered by Rama, others from the Sanskrit term "Tepo-vana" or "the wilderness of prayer"; while many with more probability suppose it to have originated from the Pali word "Tambapannya" which signifies a betel leaf and to which the Island bears some resemblance in its figure. Bochart labours to support an hypothesis, that Ceylon was the Ophir of Solomon; but on this point there are likewise many dissentient opinions, and since we do not find gold in any part of the island, we may rather conclude that what is adduced by Bruce, the Abyssinian traveller on this head in favour of the kingdom of Sofola on the east coast of Africa is more likely to be correct.

It has been supposed by Mons Burnard in a memoir inserted the Asiatic Journal for May 1821 that this Island formerly comprehended a greater extent of territory that it now does, and that a considerable portion has been engulphed by some violent convulsion of nature. This supposition is confirmed not only by the general appearance of the coast but also by the traditions current among the natives which place the citadel of Rawana where the Basses are now situated and which also give the Island a dimension of 700 yojenas in the remotest period."

Since the publication of the Ceylon Gazetteer Mr. Chitty wrote a number of learned articles and learned essays on literary, historical, antiquarian, religious, philologican and other subjects. In an age in which easy reference to the lines and works of the great authors of Tamil literature was well nigh impossible, and all those facts were hidden away in the ancient old manuscripts, Mr. Chitty delved into them over a period of years with unremitting toil in the midst of his administrative and official duties and gave to the Tamil world his "*Tamil Plutarch.*" This work, an outstanding pioneer effort of a great scholar, has since proved to be an authoritative work on Tamil literary history. Dr. Caldwell in his Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Language recognises the authority of Chitty's work. This book has been of some value to the contributions of the Encyclopedia Britanicca on Tamil History, published so far back as 1859. The dawn of a new age free from the trammels of an alien rule has revivified the interest in our national language and a reprint of this book was issued by Ceylon Printers with a foreward by the Author of the "Yal Nool" the late Swami Wipulananda of revered memory.

"The Castes Customes manners and Literature of the Tamils" is a simple and very readable book which was yet unpublished at the time of his death. Fortunately for us his grand daughter, the late Mrs. Gardener, had it published in 1934. To her we owe a deep debt of gratitude for rendering this service to the lovers of Tamil Language and Literature.

Here is evidence of Mr. Simon Cassie Chittys' scholarly contributions,

1. *Contributions to Periodicals*

1. The Madras Government Gazette.
   "On the identity of Koodremale (Horses mountain) — September 1830.
2. The Ceylon Government Gazette.
   (*a*) "On the Affinity between the Maldivian and Sinhalese Languages — December 11, 1830.
   (*b*) On the Affinity between the Javanese and Sanskrit Languages — February 16, 1831.
   (*c*) Translation of Kavi Raja Varatheiyans Poem, giving an account of the origin and history of the Hindu Temple at Trincomalee — November 26, 1831.
3. The Colombo Journal
   (*a*) History of the Queen Alleyarasany—March 23, 1833.
4. The Colombo Friend.
   On the Affinity between the Ancient Egyptians and the Brahmans — 1838.
5. The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland —
   (*a*) Remarks on the origin and history of the Parawas — 1837.
   (*b*) Remarks on the site and ruins of Tammanna Nuwara with a Survey — 1841.
6. The Colombo Observer
   (*a*) Aphorisms of the Tamils — April 1840.
   (*b*) Extract from Kasi Kandam — April 13, 1840.
7. The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society — Ceylon Branch.
   (*a*) An account of some ancient coins found at Colpentyn — 1839.
   (*b*) Translation of the sixth chapter of the Tiruvathavur Purana.
   (*c*) History of Jaffna from the earliest period to the Dutch Conquest.
   (*d*) Catalogue of Tamil Books with the names of their Authors,

(*e*) An analysis of the great poem of the Moors entitled "Seerah."

8. The Ceylon Miscellany
On the Rodiyas with specimen of their language.

9. The Ceylon Magazine.

(*a*) Brief notices of the Tamil Philosophers and Poets in the South of India and Ceylon.

(*b*) Remarks on the Language and Literature of the Tamils.

(*c*) An account of Ceylon Mass.

(*d*) Creation and Fall of Adam according to Mohamedan Legends.

2. *Published Works*

(*a*) A correct outline of the Classification of the Tamil Castes.

(*b*) An essay on the ceremonies observed by the Tamil Castes.

(*c*) Essay on the Manners and Customs of the Moors of Ceylon.

(*d*) Tamil Translation of the Epitome of the History of Ceylon.

(*e*) Malai Agaradi.

(*f*) Udayaditya or the Rising Sun — A Tamil Newspaper — 1841.

(*g*) Life of Father Joseph Vaz — 1848.

(*h*) Sketch of the rise and progress of the Catholic Church in Ceylon — 1848.

3. *Unpublished Works*

(*a*) The Sanskrit and Tamil Dictionary.

(*b*) Thesaurus of foreign words and phrases in use amongst the Tamils.

(*c*) An English and Tamil Lexicon.

The Northern Boundary of Tamil Nad

DR. V. RAGHAVAN

> " Mountains interposed
> Make enemies of nations who had else,
> Like kindred drops been mingled into one."
>
> —*Cowper*, the Task, Book 2

LIKE the Sanskrit writers, the Tamil writers had a keen geographical sense and a notion of their homeland. This is all the more striking when we note that no early Telugu writer has ever defined his land. Even as the Sanskrit Smritis speak of the geographical boundaries of the country where the Dharma spoken of by them are and are to be current, early Tamil writers defined, with clear mention of its geographical boundaries, the land where the Tamil language was spoken. Thus, P anambāranār in his prefatory verse to the oldest extent Tamil work, the Grammar of Tolkappiyanār, says "the fine land lying between Veṅkaṭa in the north and Kumari in the South, where Tamil is spoken." This northern boundary of the Tiruveṅkaṭa hills is reiterated in other old Tamil works like the music treatise of Śikhaṇḍi and the prosodial treatise of the authoress Perum Kākkai-p-pāḍiniyār. In well-known works like the epic Śilappatikāram, Veṅkaṭa with Lord Vishnu is treated as part of Tamil Nad.

A Śilpa treatise in Tamil quoted by the late Dr. V. Swaminatha Iyer in his University Lectures, mentions Tamilnad as extending up to the Krishna, but

evidently this is due to the sway of the Tamil kings extending sometimes beyond the Veṅkaṭa hills.

In contrast to this, it is to be noted that no early Telugu work or writer, speaks of the Southern limit of his land, nor of the Veṅkaṭa hills as their southern boundary, nor even of Veṅkaṭa generally in such frequent manner.

We shall then take the evidence of religion. It is well-known that the Tamil and Vaishnava saints known as Nāyanmārs and Alwārs had toured the shrines of Tamilnad and sung of the deities there. Such personal visits the Nāyanmārs had made up to Kālahasti; Śiva-shrines beyond that, they have sung of only generally without visiting them, as has been attested to by the Periapurāṇam. The Tamil Śaivite canonical literature would give the Kālahasti hill shrine and the Svarṇamukhī river there as the northern boundary of Tamilnad. Similar confirmation of the Veṅkaṭam as a Tamil shrine is to be had from the Vaishnavite canonical literature. Besides, many Sangham poets visited Veṅkaṭa hills and sang of them in their Tamil verses.

The Tamils divided their land into several divisions. According to this territorial division, the northern-most division is the Toṇḍai-nādu or Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, ruled over by the Pallavas of Kānchī, in which division, Tiruveṅkaṭa is included. The Sangam works refer to Pallava rule comprehending Veṅkaṭa hills and parts of Nellore ? District. The fact that no less than 32 Dēvārām shrines and 22 Divyaprabandha shrines are in the Toṇḍainādu shows what an important part of Tamilnād this northern-most division of Tamilnad was. In fact the importance of this part of the Tamil country was so much that

it is called *Dramila* (Tamil) *par excellence*. Daṇḍin, the poet laureate of the Pallavas of Kāñchi, speaks of the Pallavas and their Tondainadu as *Dramila* (Tamil) more than once in his work the Avantisundarīkathā. Yuan Chwang, the Chinese Buddhistic traveller speaks of Kāñchīpuram as the capital of *Dramila* (Tamil) country, and it is from a *Dramila* port that he embarked for Ceylon. Several inscriptions refer to the territory of the Pallavas as *Damariga* (Tamilakam). In the heydays of Buddhism in Toṇḍaināḍu, Buddhistic works like the Mahāvamsa refer to this northern-most division as *Damilo*. It is therefore clear that this northern-most division of Tamilnāḍu, Toṇḍaināḍu, stretching upto the Veṅkaṭa hills, was called *Dramila* i.e. *Tamil*.

This Toṇḍai-nāḍu was again divided into 24 subdivisions or Kōṭṭams which figure in inscriptions from the Pallava times. It must be noted that all these Kōṭṭa names are all Tamil; one of them is Veṅkaṭa-k-Kōṭṭam.

According to another nomenclature, this northern-most division of Tamilnād bears the nrme Aravānādu which again, as is clear on the face of its means Arava-nāḍu or Tamil-nāḍu. That the Telugu, themselves held this part of the country as Tamil is proved by the fact that 'Arava' is the name by which they refer to Tamils.

That the Telugu country did not extend in the past even upto the Veṅkaṭa hills is clear from the history of the territorial unit called Muṇḍarāshtra which lay between Kālahasti and Nellore. It is beyond the habitat of the Muṇḍas, who were of a Dravidian stock, that the Telugu country began.

Like the territorial divisions of the Tamils mentioned above, the Telugus too have their land-divisions, and it is significant that they have no name or division covering the Veṅkaṭa area. Not only that. One of the names by which Telugus call their land is *Triliṅga* and their explanation of the word is that their land is marked by *three Śiva liṅgas*. These three Śiva-liṅgas are Manthana Kāleśvara in Wārangal District, Bhīmeśvara of Drāksārāma and the famous and ancient Śrīśaila. It must be noted that *Kalahastisvaraliṅga* is not one of these that demarcate their country. On the other hand, in all Tamil conceptions, the shrine of Kālahasti plays an important part; Tamil Śaivism adores the legend of Kaṇṇappa Nāyanār of Kālahasti; according to one classification of the Tamil shrines as per the Five Elements, Pancha-maha-Bhūtas, Prithivī, Ap, Tejas, Vāyu, and Akāśa, Kālahasti is Vāyukshetra. And in one of the early commentaries on the Rāmāyaṇa, the Amritakataka, still in manuscript, written by a Tamil Sannyāsin, the deities at Kālahasti, Śivakāñchī (Ekāmreśvara) and Tirukkalukundram are deemed to form a special Śaiva-Trinity.

As in the case of Kālahasti, there is no early reference in Telugu literature to Tiruveṅkaṭam. It is only in the later Vijayanagara times that Tiruveṅkaṭa figures much in Telugu literature.

Also, in the history of early Telugu culture, there is nothing that is associated with this area. There has been no early Telugu writer, saint or other important personage or memorable Telugu event connected with this area. With this one should contrast the great part this area has played in the history of Tamil culture. The association of Tamil Śaiva and Vaishṇava saints with Kālahasti and Tiruveṅkaṭam has

already been mentioned. With Mylapore are associated Tiruvalluvar, Jñānasambandhar and Pēyālwār. In fact, including Pēyālwār, four of the Vaishnava Tamil saints hail from Toṇḍai-nāḍu, and the great Rāmānuja too came from this same region. Triplicane is associated with Pallava Kings and Alwārs. Tiruvotriyūr is full of Tamil Saints' exploits, those of Sundaramūrti, Paṭṭnattār etc. Tiruvēlaṅgādu has similar old Tamil religious and literary associations.

It is usual for enthusiastic Telugus to make much of the influx of the Telugu into Tamilnad in the post-Vijayanagara period, and their contribution to culture in Tamil nad, in fields like music and dance. All this is a matter of yesterday. The student of South Indian History knows that in the palmy days of the Tamil Cholas, beginning from the time of Karikāla Chola himself, the whole of the Telugu country was being, time and again, over-run by Cholas and kept under their hegemony. Large numbers of Chola chiefs settled themselves in different parts of the Telugu country, calling themselves Telugu Chodas. The chief place which they thus occupied first was Cudappa and a major part of Kurnool which came to be called Cholappāḍi, and the Cholas who ruled here were called Renāḍu Cholas. Huentsang, the Chinese traveller, refers to Chola rule here. Villages and shrines here, as inscriptions show, had Tamil names. Large numbers of Tamil families must have accompanied these Tamil victors and settled on Telugu soil. While the fighting and working classes among them cannot now be traced, we have evidences to lay our fingers on the families of Scholars from Tamilnad who, at that time, went over to Telugu country, settled there, and made valuable contribution to culture in that land. To cite a few instances, the Telugu Nītiśastra owes its origin to the Ṭelugu chola Baddana; Gokarna

Cohandas was written by Gokarna Chola ; Kalāvilāsa and Kumārasambhava were written by Nannaya Chola ; Manma Siddhi who patronised Tikkana was a Telugu chola king of Nellore ; in Nellore and Gōdāvarī districts, we have still the distinguishing Tamil house-names, Perūr Drāviḍas, Pudūr Drāvidas etc., three miles from Elamanchali, Vizag District, we have a place called *Dimila* ; the Karris are Draviḍa Brahmanas ; Pērūru, a Drāviḍa settlement, is in Amalāpuram Taluq ; yet another branch of Tamil Brahmanas settled on the Gōdāvarī banks are the Arāma or Tōṭa Drāvidas ; some of the stalwarts of modern Telugu literature, Vedam Venkataraya Sastri, Chellapalalli Venkata Sastri, Vajjiahala Chinna Sitaramaswami Sastri and Chilakamarti Lakshiminarasimhan are all drawn from Tamil families settled in Andradesa.

Some of the families of the great music masters who settled in Meraṭṭūr and other Tanjore villages are known as Toṇḍravādu. This Toṇḍravādu is a corruption of Toṭa-arava-vāḍu, a fact which shows that they were only the old Tamils come back to their native Cauvery from the Gōdāvarī.

There is no dispute about the Tamil chola origin of the Telugu chodas, for they give themselves in their inscriptions the title — 'Urayūr-pura-varādhīśvara'- 'lords of Urayūr,' the Chola capital on the Cauvery in Tamilnad.

In the great days of the two greatest chola emperors, Rājarāja and his son Rājendra, parts of the Telugu country were subordinate to the Tamil kings.

During the days of the expansion of 'Srī Vaishnavism, not only were members of Tamil Sri Vaishnava

Brāhmin teachers with their families settled in Andhradesa, but a good deal of Tamil Vaishnava vocabulary was also borrowed by the Telugu Vaishnavas.

It is only in the later Vijayanagar period that Telugu appears to an appreciable extent in Veṅkaṭam area. Prior to this, in all the area around Tiruvenkada, Kālahasti and up to Nellore, Tamil is the language of the inscriptions, from which fact, Mr. Venkayya, the well-known epigraphist, draws the legitimate conclusion that this was originally a Tamil speaking area, and that it was Teluguised to some extent in the later Vijayanagara age, especially after Chandragiri became the seat of Vijayanagar chiefs. (Annual Report of Epigraphy 1904, p. 6). Even as late as the middle of the 17th century when the British had settled near Triplicane, a Sanskrit work, the Viśvagunādarsa Champū of Veṅkatādhvarī of Araśānippālai, a work of much geographical interest, considers Tamilnad as starting with Tiruveṅkatam. In this connection, it may also be borne in mind that the general disfavour with which Sircar Andhras look upon the Southern Telugus of Nellore etc., is most probably, inherited from those early days when these areas were really not Telugu.

Thus taking history as a whole, this movement of population across the frontier of Vēṅkatam has taken place on both sides, and it should therefore be not urged as an argument for considering the area of Veṅkatam as Telugu. If some more time had passed, just as the early Tamil settlers in Andhra naturalised themselves, the Telugus in Tamilnad would also naturalise themselves. Already most of them, whether among Brahman scholars or among Reddis and other groups, are in a process of naturalisation, unable as they are to live on without Tamil the language of the

soil. Some of them, especially in distant southern districts, talk some absurd Telugn, a dog-Telugu, f wei may say so, and they are really more proficient in the regional language, Tamil. They are thus to be considered as part of Tamilians, and not Telugus. Jesperson, the eminent linguist, points out in his work on *Man, Race and Nation from a Linguistic Point of View* that speaking a common language is also not a criterion of peoples being one nation and cites the example of the Americans and the British being two distinct nations, despite their common English. Similarly, here also, the mere fact that a Tamil-Telugu's leadership is resisted by the Telugu as much as a pure Tamil leadership is clear proof that the Tamil-Telugus are to be, for all political purposes, taken to be as good as Tamils.

THE CITY OF MADRAS

The City of Madras which owes its present form to British occupation, comprised a number of what were originally villages, Mylāpūr, Tiruvallikkeni, Nungampākkam, Elumūr etc., all of which figure both in Tamil literature and inscriptions from early times.

It is claimed that the Andhras have a right over this City as its very name Chennapaṭṭanam is after Dāmaria Chennama Nāyuḍu, whose son Dāmarla Venkaṭappa Nāyudu, is said to have gifted the fort area on the beach to the British. That the City is named after the donor's father is not a fact. There is no greater authority on the history of Madras than H. D. Love, author of *Vestiges of Old Madras*. Love, in that most valuable work, says definitely that there is no evidence for this view. Recently other evidences have come up which definitely prove that this theory is totally wrong.

If we look up William Foster's *English Factories in India*, 1637-1641, pp. 156-8, we find that, strange to say, it is stated that the orginal of the grant of the Naik to the British, made to one Frances Day, is *not* available; it is explained that the original was blown away by wind on the deck of the ship and that what we have is only a copy of that grant belonging to Captain Cogan. In this grant, the alleged stipulation that the town to be reared on the gifted site should be named after the donor's father, is conspicuous by its absence.

On the site in question, there stood at that time a Chennakesava Perumal Temple; and in 1644 and 1647, one Nāga Pattan and another Timmappan had mad grants to this temple, and in this connection the place is referred to as Chennapaṭṭanam. Even before the gift of the site to the British it appears, the place was called Chennapaṭṭanam.

Thirdly, there is the Sanskrit work on the life of Anandaraṅga Pillai, Dubash of Dupleix at Pondicherry, written in 1752 A.D., which I have edited. Anandaranga Pillai belonged to an old family of Perambūr and Ayanavaram in Madras. In two places in this work, while referring to the Black Town of Madras, the author mentions it as *Chennakesavapura*. Thus *Chennakesavapura* is the full original name of the town, which, for convenience, was referred to as Chennapaṭṭanam also. The name is thus aftur the presiding deity in the temple which stood in this area, Chennakeśavaperumal, the temple which was pulled down in 1757 during the Governorship of Pigot; Manali Muthukrishna Mudali who was Dubash at this time could not reconcile himself to this destruction, and took the initiative to rebuild the temple at its present place in the Flower Bāzaar, along with an additional Chenna

Mallesvara shrine. Thus there is no truth in the statement that the City of Madras owes its name to a Telugu Chief.

It is true that the Madras area was under Telugu sway when the British came. But to claim Madras on this score is like one of the fond desires of Jinnah that, as the Muslims were rulers in the North before the British, India should-properly be handed over to him when the British quitted.

It is during the early British days that Telugu Merchants crowded into the city. Later, Telugu lawyers and officials poured in. But from the early days of the City, leading Tamils like Manali Mudaliars, were having a dominant part in the affairs of the City. An interesting Sanskrit work of about 1800 A D, dealing with Madras life, Sarvadevavilāsa, which I am editing from a Manuscript of it in Adyar, describes a number of leading Tamil nobles of the City like Vedāchala of Kalaśapura, Devanāyakam of Nungambākkam and Annāswāmi of Triplicane.

Successive census reports have also noted that Madras, from Pulicat area, is a Tamil speaking region, and the figures for the city too show a consistent excess of Tamils over Telugus. The nature of the poor and lowest strata of the people of the locality is a sure evidence to show to whom a place really belongs. All along the Madras sea-coast, the fisherman are all Tamil speaking people, and similarly, along the streets of Madras the poor workers and Harijan Rikshawalas are also Tamils.

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The Hypocritical Cat

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POPULAR Wisdom in the Tamil land often mentions the உருத்திராக்ஷப் பூனை (*rudraksa punei*) as a prototype of those persons who act hypocritically. A *rudraksa punei* is the cat which devoutly enters a temple, adorned with *rudraksas* as if he were a Saiva ascetic, to deceive the mice of the temple, in order finally to eat them up with much greater facility. A *rudraksa punei* is a deceitful cat, a symbol of a hypocrite.

What are the foundations of this curious expression? That is what we wish to study in this essay.

I

THE HYPOCRITICAL CAT IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

There is a series of stories (*itihasas*) in the literature of Ancient India concerning different animals that shammed practices of asceticism in order to deceive other animals for their selfish purposes. Here it is a swan (*hansa*) preaching (*dharmavak*), under whose protection the other birds place their eggs, which she finally eats,[1] which story is in Buddhist literature narrated of a "travelled crow" (*disakakam*).[2] There it is a crane or a heron, which shams asceticism because he lusts after fish.[3] Further it is a tiger who performs lustrations holding sacred grass in his paws, as befits a good Brahmana, but finally devours the credulous wayfarer who confides in his piety.[4] Then it is a wolf who, accidentally, owing to a flood

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1 *Mahabharata*, Sabha Parva, 1463-1473.

2 *Dhammadhaja Jataka*, 384.

3 *Baka Jataka*, 38.

4 *Hitopadesa*, I, 3.

of the Ganga, decides to play the ascetic keeping an *uposatha* (sabbath fast)[5] ; or a jackal, whose hair being all singed by a forest fire, calls himself Bharadvaja and offers himself to be the guardian of a rat tribe, though in fact he eats the hindmost rat when they come to their hole every night.[6] Finally in three of these *Jatakas* the sham ascetic is a monkey: in two cases the ape puts on the garments of a holy anchorite in order to be admitted to warm himself within a house in a cold winter night.[7] In the third case the monkey mimics the air of a holy man seeking alms and worshipping the sun ; and his pose seemed to have been so convincing that passers-by, when seeing him, repeated :

> "There is no tribe of animals but hath its virtuous one:
> See how this wretched monkey here stands
> worshiping the sun."[8]

But the parent story, out of which all these seem to be patterned, appears to be the story of the wicked and cunning cat which is narrated in the *Mahabharata.* This feline, being no longer in business (*niscestah sarvakarmasu*) stands with forepaws held high (*urdhvabahu*) on the banks of the Ganga, professing to have attained mental purity (*manuhsuddhi*) and advising all to adhere to the practice of virtue. The cat's fame as an ascetic thus grows far and wide and is spread throughout by the birds which he had used to eat in his young days. Then the mice of the neighbourhood realizing that they were beset by many enemies, came to see that wonder — a cat turned an ascetic — and thinking that he would be the proper one to protect them against the voraciousness of the others of his kind, addressed him as their maternal uncle (*matula*) declaring him to be their refuge and best friend. The evil cat, apparently accepts the task reluctantly, but feighning exhaustion from ascetic exercises induces the mice to carry him to the river side for his pious lustrations every day. "Very well," said the mice ; and when going to the

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5 *Vaka Jataka,* 300.

6 *Aggika Jataka,* 129.

7 *Kapi Jataka,* 250 ; *Makkata Jataka,* 173.

8 *Adiccupatthana Jataka,* 173.

river side the cat ate some mice on the sly every day. Thus "the mice of the tribe began to dwindle quickly and the wicked-souled wretch began to grow fat endued with strength and energy. Much concerned with this phenomenon, Dindika, who is described as "the wisest among the mice," proposed this plan to the whole crowd: "Go ye to the river side all together in advance; I shall come myself accompanying our maternal uncle, after a while." So it was done, and the cat, not acquainted with the plan, ate Dindika, on his way to the river side, that day. The mice were much concerned wih the fate of poor Dindika, whom they did not see for seven or eight days, when they finally held a consultation. Then the oldest of the mice named Kilika disclosed the truth to the members of his race: "The desire of our maternal uncle is not to earn virtue — this is only a disguise." And as a proof of his statement he declared to them this physiological principle which seemed to have been an ordinary belief in ancient India, that long haired animals are never vegetarians; whereupon the mice scutter away and the wicked cat also returned where he had come from.[9]

This story, which was so well known in India in ancient times, has indeed an unknown origin. According to the epic account it was already an old *itihasa* in the time of the Kuruksetra war: the venerable sage Narada had narrated it to king Dhritarastra, as testified by Duryodhana. It came most likely from Dravidian sources prior to the Aryan invasion.

We find the story repeated in the *Pancatantra* though with slight differences. A wild (*aranya*) cat named Dadhikarna ("curd-eared"), called in other copies *Tiksnadantra* ("sharp-toothed"), stands as an ascetic on the banks of the Ganga holding a handful of *kusa* (sacred grass), eyes shut, with a foot lifted from the ground, its face turned towards the sun, always preaching good conduct (*dharma*), detachment from this world of *samsara* and abstention from animal killing (*ahimsa*) and even from animal sacrifice. The partridge and hare who happened to take counsel from him,

[9] *Mahabharata,* Udyoga Parva, 5421-5449.

eventually suspecting him, they spoke from far. The cat nevertheless tells them that he being old is hard of hearing, that they should come near ; they do so and by a stroke of his paw the cat kills them both and eats them.[10]

At a later period the *Pancatantra* was practically embodied in the *Katha Sarit Sagara,* wherein the last story is once more repeated with some slight differences. In a certain tree a bird named Kapinjala had made a nest and lived. Once the bird was absent for some days and in the meanwhile a hare took possession of his nest. Kapinjala returned some time after, and an altercation arose as both claimed the nest. Then they both set out in search of a qualified arbitrator. They saw a cat of pious looks on the bank of a lake : he pretended to have taken a vow of abstinence from injury to all creatures, and kept his eyes half closed in meditation. Then the bird and the hare said to one another: " Why should we not asked this holy cat here to declare what is just?" Hence they approached the cat saying : " Reverend Sir, hear our case, for you are a holy ascetic." When the cat heard what they had to say, he rejoined in a low voice : "I am weak from self-mortification, so I cannot hear at a distance, pray come near me. For a case wrongly decided brings temporal and eternal death." Thus he encouraged them to come near him, when the cunning creature sprang at them and killed both the hare and Kapinjala.[11]

This story of the bird, the hare and the cat is once more found in the *Avadanas.*[12]

The *Hitopodesa* again speaks of the same cat ; which is here named *Dirghakarna* ("long-eared"), living on the banks of the Ganga, constantly taking baths, abstaining from flesh and performing in chastity the holy vow called *candrayana* (a fast regulated by the phases of the Moon) and living *brahmacharya* life so that even the birds were ecstatic in his praise. Once he approached a tree where there lived an old

10 *Pancatantra,* III, 2.

11 *Katha Sarit Sagara,* 121 B (Tawney, II, pp. 102-103).

12 *Avadanas,* No. 125. Cf. Julien, *Les Avadanas,* II, pp. 152-155 ; Ralston, *Tibetan Tales,* p. 344.

blind vulture keeping the eggs of a number of birds. The vulture told the cat to go away for cats are usually treacherous and eat flesh. The cat on hearing this, scandalized, covered his ears declaring that he had learned the holy *dharma* and that was the only rule of his conduct, and that consequently he kept perfect *ahimsa.* Encouraged by this sincere profession of faith the vulture makes friends with him and even entrusts him watching over the eggs during its absence; but as soon as the vulture is gone the cat eats the eggs. Whereupon a quarrel ensues between the vulture and the birds, when they come back at night and find their eggs destroyed, and the former is finally killed by the latter.[13]

The story finally passed to Buddhist literature, clearly patterned after the original of the epic, though with two accidental changes. The whole story is narrated of a jackal, (*sigala*) though the title of the story refers to a cat, *Bilara Jataka.* At the end of the same story the stanza does again refer to the cat's treacherous mode of living or nature (*bilaram vatan*). Moreover in this case the leader of the rats is said to be the Bodhisatva himself, "in the time when Brahmadatta was reigning in Benares." The jackal took up his stand near the home of the rats his face to the sun, sniffing up the wind and standing on one leg. Seeing him the rat Bodhisatva conceived him to be a saint, and approaching him, the following dialogue soon ensued :—

"What is your name ?", asked the rat.

"'Godly' is my name", answered the rascal.

"Why do you stand only on one leg ?"

"Because if I stand on all four at once, the earth could not bear my weight. That is why I stand on one leg only."

"And why do you keep your mouth open ?"

"To take the air. I live on air ; it is my only food."

"And why do you face the sun ?"

"To worship him."

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13 *Hitopadesa,* I, 5.

The Bodhisatva was convinced of the great sanctity of that new ascetic. His doubts began only when the number of rats was fast diminished ; for in fact the jackal, when the rats were living their home, "seized and devoured the hindermost one of them, wiped his lips and looked as if nothing had happened." Finally the Bodhisatva decided to ascertain the truth, and next day he remained the last one of the troop ; and when the jackal sprang on him, the rat whirled round crying : "So this is your saintliness, you hypocrite and rascal ! ", and springing at the jackal's throat bit his windpipe asunder whereupon the jackal died.[14]

In this case the sham ascetic's hypocrisy ended in misfortune, through the alertness of the Bodhisatva, which is not the end of the cat of the epic. Evidently those who accommodated this *itihasa* to Buddhist needs wanted to emphasize the wisdom of the Buddha even in his previous births to discern faked from true ascetics, a power he often demonstrates in the *nikayas*. Such is also the case in the *Dhammadhaja, Makkata, Adiccupatthana* and *Kapi Jatakas*. Yet in these four stories the Bodhisatva is never deceived but at once he discerns the hypocrisy of the swan or of the monkeys under the cloak-of saintliness. He is attributed some sort of supernatural power to realize the fraud. This evidently points to a later period. Hence we may affirm that the *Bilara Jataka* is probably the earliest appearance of the story of the cat (later changed into a jackal) among the jatakas. The *Aggika Jataka* wherein the ascetic is also a jackal who dealt with rats much in the same way as in the *Bilara Jataka,* seems to have been the second stage. From this all the other Jatakas referring to faked asceticism may have derived.

II

THE HYPOCRITICAL CAT IN LATER ORIENTAL LITERATURE

The story of the rogue cat has migrated outside the pale of Sanskrit and Pali literatures.

In early Gujerati literature we find it combined with another story which seems to prepare the ground for the fit of

14 *Bilara Jataka,* 128.

asceticism of the cat. It is said that in the reign of king Sudarsana there was in the city of Sripura a certain Baniya named Sahasradatta who had a shop of *ghee*. Once while he was in the street a cat entered the shop and having put his head inside a pot of ghee he could not extract it. When the shopkeeper returned, he tried to remove the cat's head from the pot but he did not succeed either, yet moved by pity he broke the pot, but its rim remained round the cat's neck. The cat ran to a field where there were a thousand mice. The latter, as soon as they saw their enemy flew away but that excellent rogue told them : "Don't go and entertain no fear for I am totally changed. I have been in pilgrimage to Badrikedar and there I took the necklace of the ascetics, the vow of Brahmacharya and the practice of *ahimsa*, as my mode of life". He thus propounded sound doctrines of ascetic life. The mice heard him and every day they used to come to hear his sermons but the cat always caught the last one when they disappeared and devoured it quietly. But the mice soon realised that their troop was rapidly decreasing in a mysterious way. One of them suspected the cat of being the cause of it and standing afar watched him. He thus saw the cat devouring the last rat and then addressed him thus in a loud voice : "We have now known what your vow was like. You are not going to have your food out of these thousand mice." [15]

Once more we find the story of the cat repeated among the Tibetan stories narrated in the *Kah-gyur*, a book which probably dates from the 12th or 13th century. In this Tibetan story the cat is named Agnija. In his youth he destroyed all the mice of the neighbourhood of his dwelling-place ; but having grown old had no longer the skill to catch mice. Hence he decided to have recourse to some trick to obtain the same purpose. So having approached a mouse-hole, he first counted them and found them to be five hundred. He stood there quiet with a pious look ; whereupon the mice in their wanderings to and fro looking at him, cried out from a distance :—

"Uncle, what are you doing," ?

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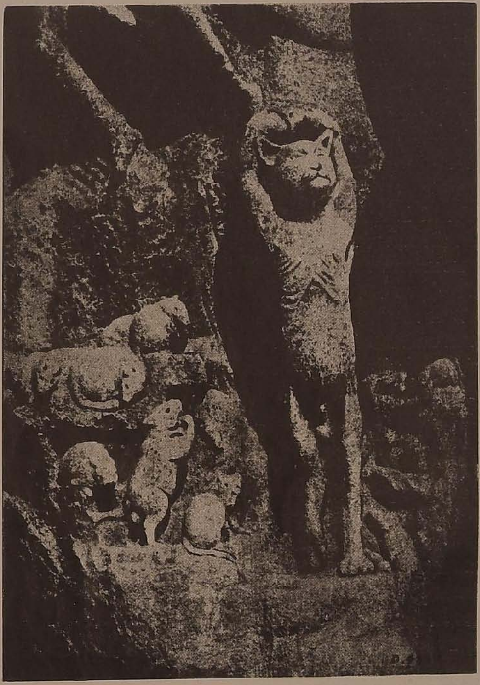
[15] Hertel, *The Panchakhyanavarttika*, VI, pp. 11-12 (Leipzig, 1912).



Mahabalipuram (Madras). The Mahabharata Cat performing *tapas*.

(Copyright. Archaeological Survey of India)

Tarragona (Spain). The cat carried by the rats to the river bank for his bath.

Tarragona (Spain). The cat turns on the rats.

"As in my youth I have perpetrated many vicious actions," answered the cat, "I am now doing penance in order to make up for them".

Consequently the mice believed that he had given up his sinful life and gave up all suspicions. Thus when they returned home every day the cat always seized and devoured the mouse which came last. After some time, realizing that the troop was constantly dwindling, the chief of the mice observed likewise that the cat was fat and covered with beautiful hair ; and keeping watch from a hiding place, he saw the cat eating the mouse that came last. Then, still from far, he pronounced the following verse :—

"As the uncle's body waxes bigger, but my troop on the contrary becomes smaller, and as he who eats roots and berries will not become fat and well covered with hair, this is not a genuine penance, but one performed only for the sake of gain. Because the number of the mice diminished, have you, O Agnija, thrived."[16]

The story of the *Pancatantra* is again repeated, with a few changes, in Siamese literature.[17]

There is also a story of a very hypocritical cat in Syrian folk tales.[18]

III

THE GENEALOGY OF THE STORY OF THE CAT

There does not seem to be any direct relationship between the *Pancatantra* and *Hitopadesa* stories of the cat and the *Bilara Jataka*, for the latter is much more according to the pattern of the epic story than according to that of the *Pancatantra*. The introduction of new animals as departing with the

16 von Schiefner-Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, pp. 344-345 (London, 1882).

17 *Paksi Pakaranam*, XV.

18 Prym-Socin, *Syrische Sagen und Marchen aus dem Volksmund gesammelt*, p. LX. Cf. pp. 242 and 319.

cat in the *Pancatantra* and the *Hitopadesa* gives a totally different character to the natural atmosphere of the *itihasa*: cats should deal with rats first of all; at a second instance with hares, partridges and birds' eggs.

Parallel to the story of the cat in the *Hitopadesa* seems to be the one of the tiger which we have narrated in the beginning of this essay. Certainly the sham ascetic is not a cat there, but a tiger, another feline after all. But circumstances place the story very near the model of the one of the *Pancatantra*. The tiger performs lustrations near a lake, holds sacred grass in his paws and declares to practice *ahimsa* (as the cat of the *Pancatantra*).

Immediately derived from this story of the tiger seems to be that of the wolf of the *Vaka Jataka* who also stands on the Ganga banks; but the accidental circumstance leading him to the practice of asceticism connects the story with that of the jackal of the *Aggika Jataka* from which it may also be partly derived.

The *Mahabharata* story of the swan seems to form a totally different family, from which that of the fish lusting crane of the *Baka Jataka* and the *Pancatantra* may derive. But it has undoubtedly influenced the cat story of the *Hitopadesa* whose aim also is eating the birds' eggs. Moreover the same swan story seems to be the origin of the fish lusting crane of the *Baka Jataka I* and of the *Pancatantra*, which has been repeated in the *Hitopadesa*[19] and in the *Katha Sarit Sagara*.[20] The *Baka Jataka I* seems to have been influenced by the cat story of the epic, in as much as the crane calls the crab his nephew, just as the mice called that cat their maternal uncle. The *Baka Jataka II*[21] is evidently a brief summary of the *Baka Jataka I* with the sole purpose of emphasizing the cleverness of the Bodhisatva in upsetting the de-

19 *Hitopadesa, I,* 3.

20 Tawney, II, p. 31.

21 The idea of the crane as an ascetic perhaps comes from the natural fact of its usual pose standing on one leg.

signs of the crane[22] ; and since the method used is very similar to that used by the goat in respect to the wolf in the *Vaka Jataka,* the influence of the latter is quite evident.

As regards the Gujerati story of the *Pancakhyanavarttika,* the circumstance that the cat was eating the last rat of the troop, which is not found in the epic, shows that the story must be derived from the *Bilara Jataka,* wherein the tactics of the cat is exactly the same. The accidental occasion which placed the cat in a good position to practice asceticism—his wearing the neck-lace-like rim of the pot — also seems to suggest certain influence from other *Jatakas* and in particular from the *Vaka Jataka* and the *Aggika Jataka* ; in the last of these two *Jatakas* the jackal also devours the hindmost mouse of the band. Very likely therefore the influence comes immediately from the *Aggika Jataka.* Even the beginning of the story mentioning the city wherein the Baniya lived and the reign of the king, as well as the *sloka* ending the story, smack of *Jataka* ascendancy.

On the contrary the Tibetan story of the *Kah-gyur* comes directly from the *Mahabharata itihasa,* as many of its details are only found in the epic : that the cat was thriving in his youth and unable to catch mice in his old age ; the denomination of 'uncle' (in this case even before the mice are well acquainted with him). But we must also admit some *Jataka* influence, which is easily discovered in some accidental details, for instance, that the cat seizes the last mouse of the troop, that a verse is given at the end of the story and even that the cat is called Agnija which reminds one of the wolf of the *Aggika Jataka* who was described as a "Bharadvaja, a votary of the Fire-god-". Since the other two circumstances also occur in the same *Jataka,* we consider it probable that the influence comes immediately from this *Jataka.*

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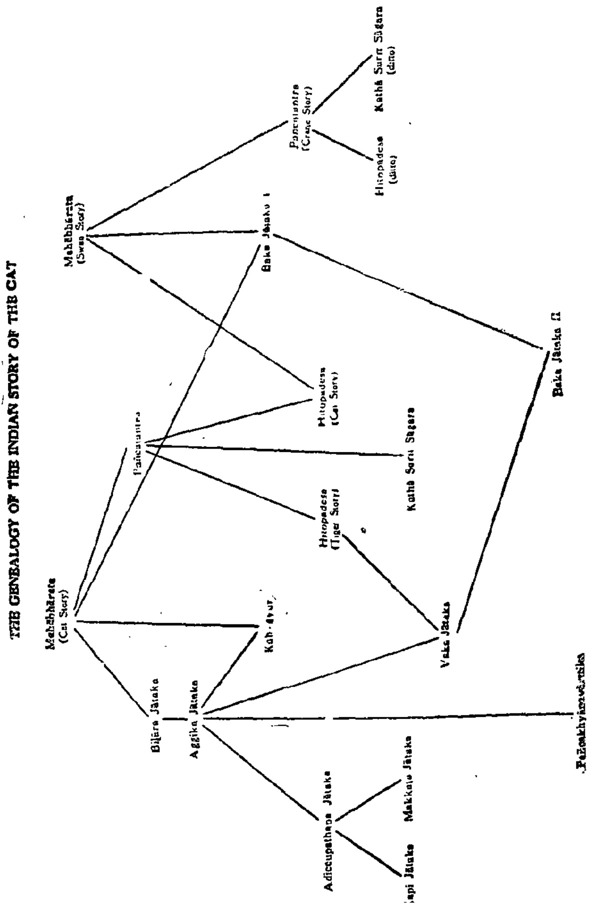
22 In one of his dialogues, the Buddha speaks of a scene that takes place before a false Brahma, whom he calls Baka Brahma, with an evident allusion to the Baka stories of the *Jataka.* Cf. "Brahma-Nimantanika Sutta", *Majjhima Nikaya,* I, pp. 334-339.

Hence we may show the succession of all these stories in the following chart, wherein their mutual relationship may be seen at a glance :—



The Indian parentage of the cat story is also confirmed by its widely renowned popularity, as is shown by an indirect statement we find in the *Hitopadesa*. There the crow in order to warn the deer against the shamed friendship of the jackal tells him : "Hast thou never heard of how that volture paid the penalty of the cat's misdeed ?"[23] The cat consequently became synonymous with hypocrisy and treachery as clearly stated by *Manu*: "A man, who ever covetous, displays the flag of virtue, who is a hypocrite, a deceiver of the people, intent on doing injury, and a detractor of all men, one must know to be one who acts like a cat."[24] Consequently the law-giver prescribes that Brahmanas should not "honour, even by a greeting, men who live like cats, rogues, logicians, i.e. arguing against the Vedas"[25] ; and even Brahmanas themselves who are like cats should not be given any hospitality. "A man who knows the law should not offer even water to a Brahmana who acts like a cat."[26] It was very likely on account of this idea of the cat, as a type of hypocrisy and deception, that when Hanuman is said to have entered Lanka, he is described as taking the form of a cat in order to reconnoitre the place more easily.[27] The cat, in fact, became a symbol of duplicity and double-dealing. Even a female cat is represented in another *Jataka* inviting a cock, perched on the top branches of the tree, to come down and take her as wife to be able to eat him as he had eaten others of his kin,[28] a story which supplied a subject to one of the Bharhut artists for one of the most beautiful carvings round the *stupa*.

In one case, the *Hitopadesa* speaks of a cat which, strange to say, appears timid and cunningless ; but this may be the effect of his not being a cat by nature. It was originally a mouse which, being pursued by a cat, was eventually converted into a cat by a saintly ascetic. This is the cat which

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23 *Hitopadesa*, IX, 10. Cf. Story of the cat Dirghakarna.
24 *Manu Smrti*, IV, 195.
25 *Ibid.*, IV, 30.
26 *Ibid.*, IV, 192.
27 *Ramayana*, Sundara Kandam, Ch. II,
28 *Kukkuta Jataka*, 383.

is shown as *timid* in the presence of a dog, rather disclosing the natural timidity of the mouse.[29]

In the whole extensive field of Indian literature, I find only one case, as far as I know, in which the cat is taken as a model to imitate, and that by the Buddhist monks precisely. It is found in the *Milinda panho,* when the famous Nagasena explains the life of the monk to king Menander : "Just, O king, as the cat, in frequenting caves and holes and the interior of storied dwellings, does so only in the search after rats; just so, O king, should the strenuous *bhiksu,* earnest in effort, whether he have gone to the village or to the woods or to the foot of trees or into an empty house, be continually and always zealous in the search after that which is his food, namely self-possession. This is the first quality of the cat he ought to have." And again : "O king, as the cat in pursuing its prey always crouches down; just so, O king, should the strenuous *bhiksu,* earnest in effort, continue conscious of the origin and end of those five groups of the characteristic marks of individuality which arise out of clinging to existence, thinking to himself : 'Such is form, such is its origin, such its end. Such is sensation, such is its origin, such its end. Such are ideas, such is their origin, such their end. Such are the mental potentialities (the confections, *samkhara*), such is their origin, such their end. Such is self-consciousness, such is its origin, such its end. This, O king, is the second quality of the cat he ought to have".[30] Very extrinsic are these similarities of the cat with the good monk. Yet it is refreshing to notice that at least once this useful feline was acknowledged as a good model to imitate.

IV

WESTERN MIGRATIONS OF THE INDIAN ITIHASAS

The story of the cat also travelled westwards. Scholarship has traced the different steps of its journey, which we

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29 *Hitopadesa,* IV, 14.

30 *The Questions of King Milinda,* VII, 4, 2-2 (Max Muller's, II, pp. 326-327).

shall briefly point out here, to understand its reappearance in Europe.

Between the period of the composition of the *Mahabharata* (1st half of 1st cent. B.C.) and the period of the *Pancatantra* (2nd to 5th cent. A. D.) there existed a book of animal stories, out of whose twelve chapters, the *Pancatantra* has only five. It was probably composed in the first century A. D. This book in its entirety is no longer extant.[31] The hero of the book was the lion *Pingalaka*, with his confident and minister *Sancivaka* and great part of the dialogue was put in the mouth of two wolfs named *Karataka* and *Damanaka*.

A copy of this work was in the middle of the 6th century A. D. taken to the court of Kushru I Noshirwan of Iran (531-579) by Burzuyeh, who translated it by order of the king's wazir Buzurj-mihr, who signed the preface, as an honour.[32]

A few years after, in about 570, this Pahlavi translation was rendered into Syriac (I) by the historian Monk Periodent Bud, whose task was to visit all the Christians of Persia and India. In this translation the names of the two wolfs appear as "Kailag" and "Damnag." 'Ebed-Jesu, Bishop of Nisibis, in the 14th century, who gives this piece of information, says that Bud translated it from "the Indian"[33]; but scholars seem to agree in interpreting this language "Indian" in a broad sense, meaning in fact Pahlavi, which was an unknown language to 'Ebed-Jesu.

In the middle of the 8th century this Pahlavi translation was rendered into Arabic, under Amir Almansur, the second Abbasid Kalif, by Abdullah ibn al-Muquaffa, and was entitled *Kalila wa-Dimna,* i.e. the corrupted formes of the

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31 Benfey, *Pantschatantra,* I, pp. 2-18; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories,* p. XXIX.

32 ath-Ta'alibi, *Histoire des Rois des Perses,* (Translated by H. Zotenberg) pp. 629-633 (Paris, 1900); Jalalu'd-din Rumi, *Mathnavi,* pp. 3641-3680. Cf. Cheikho, *Kalilah et Dimnah, d'apres le plus ancient manuscrit arabe,* p. 5 (Beyrouth, 1923).

33 Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis,* III, pt. I, pp. 219-220.

original names of the two wolves, Karataka and Damanaka.[34] This Arabic version was translated into Persian several times: first in 916 by order of Amir Nasr ibn Ahmed, the Samanid, by Rudhaki (I). Then in 1144 by Nizam al-Din Abu 'l-Ma'ali Nasrullah ibn Muhammad (II) who dedicated his work to Behram Shah of Ghazna. Again in 1504 another Persian translation (III) was made by Husain Wa'iz Kashifi, under Sultan Husain Mirza of Herat. This translation was entitled *Anwar-i Suhaili* ("Lights of Canopus") after the patron of the translator, the Prime Minister. It has been the most popular translation in India.[35] Finally a fourth Persian translation (1V) was made by Abu-'l Fazl in 1578 by order of Akbar, which bears the title '*Iyar-i Danish.* From this Akbarian translation proceeds one in elegant Hindustani made by Hafiz-uddin Khirad Afroz, in the first half of the 19th century.

From the II Persian translation comes one in Ottoman Turquish (I) done in the middle of the 14th century by an unknown writer. Likewise the *Anwar-i-Suhaili* was also translated into the same language (II) round the middle of the 16th century by 'Ali ibn Salih, and dedicated to Sulaiman the Magnificent with the title *Humayun Nama.* This Turquish translation is likewise the origin of three more translations: one into Castillian (III) by Vicente Bratuti, printed in Madrid, first volume in 1654, and second in 1659; another into French (III) by Galland in 1724; and the third into Eastern Turki in 1888.

We must still mention another Syriac (II) translation from the old Arabic done by a Syrian cleric in the 11th century,[36] which was translated into English by Keith-Falconer in 1887.

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34 This Arabic translation was published in Paris in 1816 by Mons. Silvestre de Sacy. El-Masudi says that the author of the *Kalila wa —Dimna* translated by ibn al-Muquaffa was Daisalem, the successor of Porus, the Indian king slain by Alexander the great in battle. *Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems* (Sprenger's trans.), I, p. 171.

35 Published in London in 1836. Cf. Thakur-Kaha, *Anwar-i-Sukaili.* Edited with an Introduction, complete Translation and Full Notes (Karachi, dateless).

36 Printed in London in 1884 by W. Wright.

Equally fortunate was the Arabic translation of al-Muquaffa. Carried to Spain by Arab invaders, it soon came to the notice of the Christians of the northern kingdoms of the Peninsula, and King Alphonso X, called "the Wise", in the year 1251, one year before his actual accession to the throne, ordered the famous Indian dialogue to be translated into Castillian (I).[37] There is no doubt at present that this first translation of the work into a western language was made directly from the Arabic of al-Muquaffa.[38] The Castillian title of the work is as follows : *Libro de Calila e Dimna o Fabulas de Pilpay (o Bidpay)*[39], that is "The Book of Calia and Dimna, or Fables of Pilpay (or Bidpay)." This name may perhaps refer to Visnu Sarma who is the author or compiler of the *Pancatantra,* unless the prior collection was done by another author.

This Castillian *Calila e Dimna* is directly responsible to a great extent for the first French translation (I) done by the physician Raymond de Beziers by order of Princess Juana of Navarre in 1313.[40] Thus the *Calila e Dimna* passed to the whole of Europe through the very channel of the school of translators of Toledo, through which passed also the works of Averroes, Avicenna, Avicebron, and other oriental sages.[41]

This nevertheless was not the only way by which this book arrived in Western Europe. Two Hebrew translations were made out of the Arabic version, one (I) in the 12th century by the Rabbi Joel (probably in Italy), and the other (II) in the 13th century by Jacob beni Elazar.[42] Of the latter translation only the beginning is now extant. But the

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37 Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *A New History of Spanish Literature,* p. 27.

38 Don Pascual de Gayangos, cited by Menendez Pelayo, *Origenes de la Novela,* I, p. 34.

39 Textos Biblioteca de Autores Espanoles, wol. LI. We have on our table an edition collated with the Arabic original published in Madrid in 1915.

40 Filzmaurice-Kelly, *op. cit.,* p. 27 ; Menendez Pelayo *Origenes de la Novela,* I, p. 35. An illuminated MS. of this translation is found in the *Bibliotheque Nationale* of Paris.

41 Valbuena Prat. Historia de la Literatura Espanola, I, p. 98. Cf. Penzol, *Las Traducciones del "Calila e Dimna "* (Madrid, 1931).

42 Both published by J. Derenbourg in Paris, 1881.

former was during the second half of the 13th century translated once more into Latin (I) by Joannes de Capua, (an old Jewish convert), with the title *Directorium vitae humanae alias parabola antiquorum sapientum*[43]. In this translation the two wolves *Calila and Dimna* are converted into foxes. There is still another Latin translation (II), probably from the same Hebrew one, made by one Balbo, one century later, which received the title of "Aesop of Old."[44] It was the (I) Latin translation which was finally turned into French (II) by Gilbert Gaulmin, assuming the style of David Sahib of Ispahan, with the title : *Livre des Lumieres de la conduite des Rois* ; it was published in Paris in 1644 and became so popular that in 1698 a second edition of it was already published. From this version the famous French writer La Fontaine derived inspiration for many of his fables.[45] From the same Latin translation of John of Capua come three new translations in European vernaculars : one German entitled *Beispiele der Weisen von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht* ("Examples of Wise men from Race to Race") or *Das Buch der Weisheit* ("The book of Wisdom") done in the 15th century by order of Everhard, Duque of Wurtenberg. A second Castillian translation, with the title *Exemplario contra Enganos y Peligros del Mundo* ("Collection of examples against Worldly Deceptions and Dangers") published in Saragossa in 1493. And finally one in Italian named *La prima veste de' discorsi degli animali* ("The first appearance of the Discourses of the Animals") done by Agnolo Firenzuola, and published in Florence in 1548. In this translation the two wolves become two rams again renamed as "Carpigna" and "Bellino."

The original Arabic translation which had already been the source of the Castillian and Greek and Hebrew translations with all their ramifications, was once more done into Greek by one Simeon Sethos in the 11th century, but published in 1786. This translation re-christens the two wolves as

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43 Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28 ; Menendez Pelayo, *op. cit.* I, 28 ; Abraham, *A Short History of Jewish Literature*, p. 93 (London, 1905).

44 Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, p. 31.

Stephanites and Ichnelates. Five centuries afterwards this Greek translation was turned into Latin (III) by Fr. Petro Possino, S.J., with the title *Specimen Sapientiae Indorum Veterum* ("A model of the Wisdom of the Ancient Indians") and published in Rome in 1666. This book mentions in its very title the succession of translation of its line thus :

(*a*) "*ex lingua Indica in Persicam* (Pahlavi) *a Perzoe medico,*

(*b*) *ex Persica in Arabicam ab Anonymo* (sic),

(*c*) *ex Arabica in Graecam a Symeone Seth,*

(*d*) *a Petro Possino Societ. Jesu novissime e Graeca in Latinam translatus.*

Thus the two translations which exercised most influence over the European literary world were the I French and the I Latin. Bl. Ramon Llull, the Catalan mystic of Majorca, must have been acquainted with many of these stories, even perhaps with the original Arabic translation, as he travelled through many Arabian countries, and out of such memories wrote his book *El llivre de les Bestias,* recently translated into English by Prof. Allison Peers and published in London in 1927. *The Book of the Beasts* is not a translation of the *Calila e Dimna.* It "is a *Calila* not read but vaguely remembered by heart."[46]

The succession of translations of the *Calila and Dimna* shows the spread of the Indian *itihasas* through the western world in the course of nearly five centuries from the beginning of the 13th down to the close of the 17th. The following genealogical tree will show this chronological spread of the fables according to the succession of translations :—

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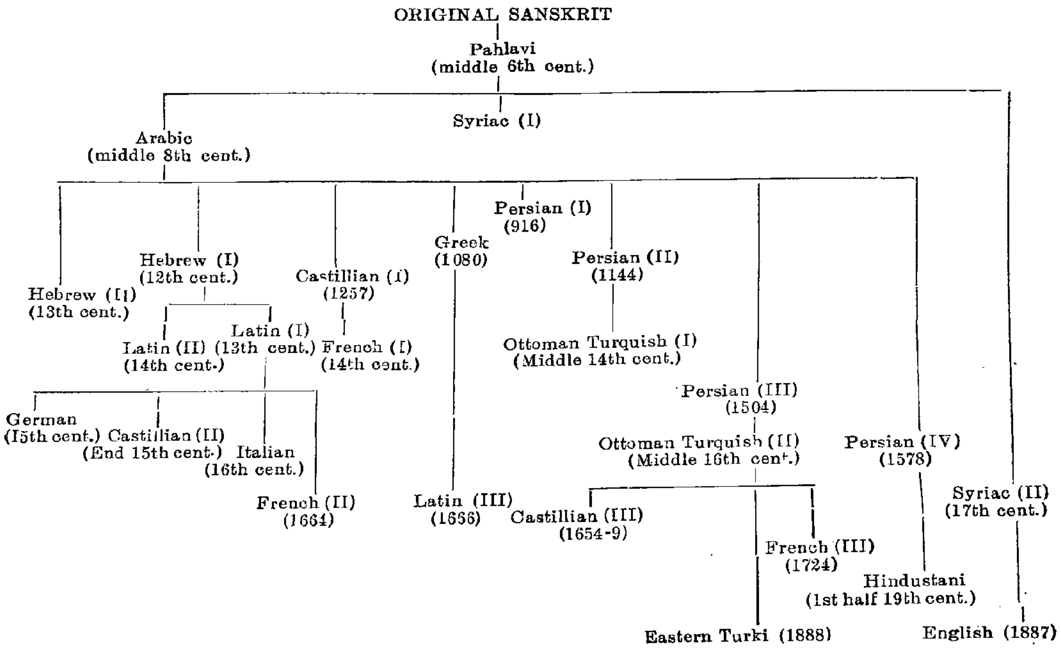
45 Collins, *La Fontaine and Other French Fabulists,* p. 34. (Edinburgh-London. 1898).

46 Menendez Pelayo, *op. cit.,* I, p. 37,


ORIGINAL SANSKRIT
Pahlavi
(middle 6th cent.)
Syriac (I)
Arabic
(middle 8th cent.)
Hebrew (II)
(13th cent.)
Hebrew (I)
(12th cent.)
Latin (II)
(14th cent.)
Latin (I)
(13th cent.)
Castillian (I)
(1257)
French (I)
(14th cent.)
Greek
(1080)
Persian (I)
(916)
Persian (II)
(1144)
Ottoman Turquish (I)
(Middle 14th cent.)
German
(15th cent.)
Castillian (II)
(End 15th cent.)
Italian
(16th cent.)
French (II)
(1664)
Latin (III)
(1666)
Persian (III)
(1504)
Ottoman Turquish (II)
(Middle 16th cent.)
Castillian (III)
(1654-9)
French (III)
(1724)
Eastern Turki (1888)
Persian (IV)
(1578)
Hindustani
(1st half 19th cent.)
Syriac (II)
(17th cent.)
English (1887)

V

DRAVIDIAN ORIGIN OF THE ITIHASAS

From the inspection of the above chart we may realize that the stories of the *Calila and Dimna* were not translated into Greek up to the second half of the 11th century ; and yet about a dozen fables of AEsop were already found in the *Jataka* and seem connected with the previous Indian collections.[47] Now the fables of AEsop were known in Greece long before the Christian era. According to Herodotus he lived in the 6th century B.C.[48] Plato informs us that Socrates during his imprisonment, kept busy turning some of AEsop's fables into verse.[49]. How could AEsop know the Indian *itihasas* at such an early age ?

We must, first of all, repudiate the AEsopian origin of many of the fables that are actually attributed to him. There lived in Constantinople, in the first half of the 14th century a learned monk named Planudes, the author of several works. One of the works he composed was a collection of moral fables generally *of animals, in which he embodied* a number of stories current in the eastern Mediterranean from ancient time. Some of his stories are actually taken from Babrius, a Greek poet of the Ist century B. C. *Others may be genuine* fables of AEsop of old. Others he may have taken from the *Calila and Dimna* itself, which was already known to the Syrian and Greek world several centuries before. But he entitled them all " AEsop's Fables ".[50]

The title of this work of *Planudes, so unjudiciously given,* has caused an extraordinary confusion in the literary world.

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47 Jacobs, *History of the AEsopic Fable,* p. 108 (London, 1889).

48 *Herodotus,* II, 134.

49 Plato, *Phaedo,* 60 and 61.

50 The work of Planudes was first printed in Milan towards the close of the 15th century. Many of his stories were translated, perhaps retranslated, into Hindustani and Sanskrit and other languages and published by Mr. J. Gilchrist in Calcutta *1803. The Sanskrit translation* was published again separately by its author Mr Narayan Balkrishna Godbole, B. A., Master of the Govt. High School, Ahmednagar.

"From the work of Planudes," says Rhys Davids, "all our so-called AEsop's fables are derived".[51] Hence many of the fables which are appended to AEsop, may in fact not be his, and consequently being of a later origin might have been very easily influenced by the later translations of the *Calila and Dimna*.

Yet it is not impossible that AEsop himself might have been influenced, not by any translation of the Indian *itihasas*, but by oral accounts or recitations of the Indian fables, as the fruit of the commercial and social intercourse that existed between India and the Mediterranean world, especially the Eastern Mediterranean, from very ancient times. During the life-time of Socrates himslf we know of a visit paid to him by an Indian philosopher[52]; and we are rightly entitled to suppose that he was not the only Indian who reached the shores of Hellas. Mr. E. J. Thomas in his introduction to the *Jataka Tales* describes this ancient intercourse between India and Greece with much erudition.[53]

Moreover it is now satisfactorily proved that the *Mahabharata* is not the oldest source of stories out of which the *Jatakas* and other collections might have derived their own fables. There existed another collection or collections of stories prior to the epic,[54] and before these *samhitas* were effected those stories must have been recited orally from generation to generation perhaps for four hundred years. This will easily lead us to pre-Aryan times; from which we may also be led to acknowledge that the main bulk of these stories, if not all, is the inheritance of the Dravidian race. In fact a circumstance that has been noticed by the Spanish scholar Don Marcelino Menendez Pelayo in connection with the *Calila e Dimna*, seems to confirm this conclusion. In this work which, as is well known, is a collection of animal fables, there is not a single one in which a horse takes part in the action of the story, a very remarkable absence, indeed, in the midst of the

51 Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

52 Aristoxenus Tarentinus, *Vita Socratis*, frag 31, in Muller, *Fragmenta ...Historicorum Graecorum*, II, p. 281.

53 Thomas, *Jataka Tales*, pp. 6 - 7.

54 Franke, "Jataka Mahabharata Parallelen", *WZKM*, XX, pp. 317 ff,

wonderful *menagerie* of the fabulous personages that appear in those stories. In particular, domestic animals, cats, dogs, cocks, goats, bulls, cows, etc., are very frequently met with in that collection ; but the horse is always absent. It has been suggested that the book may have been composed at a time when the horse was held in great veneration (perhaps an allusion to the Brahmanic period when the *asvameddha* was much celebrated). Yet this would not explain this phenomenon satisfactorily, for the bull and the cow were also held in respect from Rgvedic times when even Agni,[55] Indra[56] and even Brhaspati,[57] were called bulls and the cosmic power was compared to a cow.[58] The reason of this absence of the horse seems to be a different one. In the ruins of the cities of the Indus Valley neither images of the horse have ever been found, nor zoological remains of this animal have been unearthed. The horse is also absent there. It is well known that the horse spread throughout the world with the Aryas. The absence of the horse in India points to the period of pre-Aryan history. Moreover if, as is now admitted as extremely probable, Puranic traditions belonged to a non-Aryan Dravidian period, which " tradition in legends and stories was later on Aryanized ",[59] we may also admit that many of these *itihasas*, if not all, especially those in which the horse does not appear, must also belong to a pre-Aryan age, being the inheritance of the Dravido-Mediterranean peoples which spread from India towards the west, and are known in Crete as the Minoans and in continental Greece as the Mycenaeans and Minians, and generically as the Pelasgians or Termilai.[60] Thus the fables of the genuine AEsop and the *itihasas* of the original *Calila and Dimna,* may be two separate and distant offshoots of the same primitive trunk of Dravido-Mediterranean myth didactics.

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55 *Rg.*, III, 21, 15; VI, 1, 1 ; VII, 3, 3 ; VIII, 23, 16 ; X, 5, 7, etc.

56 *Ibid.*, VIII, 6, 40 ; 10, 11, etc.

57 *Ibid.*, III, 62, 6 ; X, 92, 10.

58 *Ibid.*, I, 180, 3 ; III, 55, 1, etc.

59 Chatterji, *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, p. 52.

VI

SPECIMENS OF THE WESTERN STORIES

It is not therefore strange that one of AEsop's fables would reproduce the same double conduct of the cat to deceive the mice as in the original story of the Indian epic, though having recourse to a new device. Asceticism was not in Greece so frequent as in ancient India, consequently the practice of asceticism on the part of the cat would have perhaps appeared exotic in that Hellenic setting.

The fable in question narrates that a cat came to a certain house and ate many mice which had settled there. Consequently the mice decided not to come down where the cat was and remained quiet in their hiding places. When the cat realized the game of the mice he saw no other means to catch them than deception ; he suspended himself from a peg and pretended to be dead. But some of the mice, who seemed to be cleverer than the mice of the Indian *itihasa*, said from a distance " Look at him ; even if thou becomest as limp as a sack, we shall not approach thee ".[61]

The Latin fabulist Phaedrus also has a story of the eagle, the cat and the boar, which is clearly inspired in that of the partridge, the cat and the hare of the *Pancatantra*, which is repeated in the *Katha Sarit Sagara*. The eagle had built her nest on the top branches of an oak while a she-cat hidden midway in the trunk had given birth to a number of kittens ; but the she-boar had placed her young at the foot of the tree. The cat climbing to the top declared to the eagle the danger in which the young birds were, for the boar continuously digging a hole at the foot of the tree wanted to fell it to destroy her progeny. Then climbing down to the hole of the boar acquainted her with the evil intentions of the eagle who wanted to catch the young ones of the swine, when she would go roaming about for food. Thus the eagle fearing disaster remained the whole day watching and the boar afraid for her

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60 Cf. my forthcoming work *Studies in Proto-Indo-Mediterranean Culture* Vol. 1, chapter V.

61 AEsop, *Fables*, XXVII.

young, did not leave her hole the whole day. While the cat kept quiet during the day, and went about for food every night. Thus both families of the eagle and the boar perished by starvation ; and the young kittens had a splendid banquet thereof.[62]

For the same reason as in the preceding case Phaedrus changed the tactics of the cat, which in the original appeared with ascetic holy looks. Yet Phaedrus's story lacks in the dramatic effect of the original. By eliminating the ascetical appearance of the cat great part of the charm of the Indian *itihasa* has likewise disappeared.

The famous French fabulist La Fontaine has also reproduced the story of the cat according to AEsop, though the success of the cat in the French story seems to be more according to the Indian model. A cat, who was styled a Cerberus in the whole world of mice, had recourse to a trick to catch them, when after knowing him, they never issued from their hole. He one day appeared dead hanging by one of his hind feet from a plank of wood. There was great rejoicing in the mouse family when they saw this spectacle : they thought that the cat had justly been hanged as a punishment for his great crimes. They promised themselves a great laugh when attending his funeral. Consequently without fear they were moving about as in the days before the cat had come, when suddenly the latter *resuscitated* and devoured those who were slow in their flight.[63]

More similar still to the Indian original, even in the bringing of the saintly looks of the cat, is another fable of the author, entitled "Of the cat, the weasel and the young rabbit". A quarrel arose among the two latter for the weasel had taken possession of the home of the rabbit during his absence. Finally the weasel proposed to appeal to "Whiskerwaul" as an arbitrator.

"This was a pious hermit of a cat,
A cat who posed as mildest of his race,
A saintly cat, sleek-coated, strong and fat,
Skilled arbitrator whatsoe'er the case.

62 Phaedrus, *Fables*, II, 4.

63 La Fontaine, *Fables*, III, 18.

"Yes, let him judge," said Jack, and lo, with her
He stood before his Lordship,
'My friends,' the humbug said, 'come near, come near
I'm growing old and none too well I hear.'

Fearless, the suitors nearer to him drew,
And when within his reach he saw the two
The Judas right and left shot out his paws
And reconciled the parties with his jaws."[64]

In another fable it is precisely a young mouse who is deceived by the good looks of a cock and a cat who were going together in the opposite direction. He was frightened at the sight of the cock and fled away to his great chagrin, for he had felt great attraction towards the cat which looked like a larger member of his own family. When on returning home he narrated all this to his mother, he blamed the cock for not allowing him to make the cat's acquaintance.

"Ah ! but for him, I might have got acquainted
With that sweet creature,
Who bore attractiveness in every feature :
A velvet skin he had, like yours and mine,
A tail so long and fine,
A sweet, meek countenance, a modest air—
Yet what an eye was there !
I feel that, on the whole,
He must have strong affinities of soul
With our great race—our ears are shaped the same
I should have made my bow, and asked his name,
But at the fearful cry
Raised by that monster, I was forced to fly."
"My child," replied his mother, "you have seen
That demure hypocrite we call a cat :
Under that sleek and inoffensive mien
He bears a deadly hate at mouse and rat."[65]

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64 *Ibid.*, VII, 16 (Transl. Carter, *Fifty Fables from La Fontaine*, p. 62, (Oxford, 1928).

65 *Ibid.*, VI, 5 (Transl. Collins, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97)

In still another fable La Fontaine describes an animal hermit, but in this case the animal, strange to say, is not a cat, but a rat; but the story is evidently influenced by the stories of the cat to the extent that the hypocritical ascetic is introduced protesting that his old worldly customs have already been given up, as did the cat of old. The *author moreover clearly signifies the eastern origin* of the fable in its very first verses. Here it is:—

THE RAT TURNED HERMIT

"A certain Rat, weary of this world's strife,
(So the Levantines in their legend say),
Into a large Dutch cheese, one day,
Retired from public life:
The solitude was most profound,
Extending over the whole cheese's round.
Within our hermit fixed his cell,
And worked with teeth and claws so hard and well,
He quickly had provided ample store
Of food, safe shelter—what could rat want more?
He soon grew sleek and fat;
When one turns hermit, Heaven takes care of that.
He had not long embraced his new vocation,
When one fine day,
From the Rat people came a *deputation,*
Entreating of the saint, to help them on their way,
Some small donation;
For they were journeying forth in search of aid
Against a fierce attack the Cats had made;
Ratapolis was under strict blockade;
And, what was worse,
So low their treasury was, they had to start
Without a penny in their purse.
Some very small assistance on his part
Was all they asked; for he must understand,
In a few days, allies would be at hand.
"My friends," the Solitary said,
"To this world's interests I have long been dead;
Nay, of what use

Could I be in such strait—a poor recluse ?
Except my prayers—they're yours, of course, you know—
May Heaven preserve you from those Cats ! and so
Pray take my blessing, friends, and go.'
Not a word more,
But shut his door".[66]

VII

THE STORY OF THE CAT IN SPAIN

It has been said that the Latin version made by John of Capua, and the Spanish translation done in the middle of the 13th century are " the two versions which reproduce more faithfully the original Arabic of al-Muquaffa."[67] Yet the differences existing between the original Sanskrit stories and these western reproductions may be great, from what we may realise by comparing them with the Indian stories we still possess.

In particular the story of the Hypocritical Cat as found in the *Mahabharata* is not found in the Castillian version, though we may find reminiscences of it here and there.

The nearest one is one which is evidently derived from the *Pancatantra* story of the pious cat set as a judge between the partridge and the hare. In the Castillian version the quarrel is also between a hare and a *gineta* (an animal which defies all identification, as this old word has no similar one in modern Spanish). The description of the hypocritical attitude of the cat is superb : " When the cat saw the hare and the *gineta* coming from afar he stood on his hind legs praying ; and the hare was astonished when realizing his goodness and his humility. And they approached him with great humility, but not in such a way as to allow him to do harm to them, and they made him acquainted with their quarrel. Said the cat : 'I am very old and hard of hearing. Come near and shall hear what you say, for I do not see and hear well'. After hearing what they have to expose the cat gives them

66 *Ibid.*, VII. 3 (Transl. *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32).
67 Alemany Bolufer, Prologue to *La Antigua Version Castellana del Calila y Dimna*, p. 30 (Madrid, 1915).

a long speech on moral matters; and the story is never ended.[68]

The story of the hypocrisy of an animal is repeated concerning a snake, which owing to old age could not catch frogs, and by a trick obtained a ration of two frogs a day from the king of the frogs.[69]

Another story of a cat and a rat develops in an unexpected way disclosing the cleverness (strange to say) of the rat, which philosophises on the qualities of true friendship at length, emulating the author of the dialogue *De Amicitia.*[70]

There is still another story of a wild wolf which "led the life of a religious, professing chastity". But the story lacks in the dramatic development of the Indian stories, for this wolf does not sham holiness and virtue, but he is actually patient, trustworthy and detached from honours and the vain honour of the world.[71]

Yet in spite of all that the story of the cat who shamed virtue in order to catch rats must have been known in Spain in some way or other, in the 13th century, as the two carvings reproducing the story of the cat, which we shall describe presently, evidently show. Whether the story reached Spain in the ascetical array of India, or similar to the fable of the cat by La Fontaine is a matter of controversy, as we shall see later. One thing nevertheless is certain, that the Indian story was popular in Spain and came to be known not through the channel of the *Calila e Dimna.*

VIII

A CRITICISM OF THE ITIHASAS

The extraordinary spread of the Indian books of these fables throughout the world and the influence it exercised over the literature of so many nations may be a matter of

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68 *Calila y Dimna* (ed. cited above), pp. 269 - 271.
69 *Ibid.*, pp. 296 - 298.
70 *Ibid.*, pp. 326 - 333.
71 *Ibid.*, pp. 406 - 411.

wonder to many. For, as Collins well says, the moral of those fables "is no moral at all, according to our ideas of morality. The lesson suggested is more or less a selfish one : it is the glorification of cunning."[72] There is besides nothing extraordinary in the exposition of religious ideas, which are "of a most simple theology, and may be reduced to an elementary theism, without any depth of thought, except some attempt to solve the contradiction between God's prescience and man's free will."[73]

In point of fact, hough the original Indian *itihasas* seem to be of pre-Vedic times, yet they were not admitted within the sacred precincts of Vedic literature. *Rsis* and philosophers had nothing to learn from those simple animal stories whose lessons mainly were lessons of selfish cunning and temporal cleverness, very seldom transcending the world of matter. Those who recommended the destruction of *ahamkara* as the first step to enter *jnana marga* could not pay much attention to such *itihasas* leading to the glorification of selfishness.

The stories of the *Calila and Dimna* and of its successors the *Pancatantra* and the *Hitopadesa* were written for those to whom the teaching of Brahman was not to be entrusted, as unworthy to possess that gift greater than "the whole of this sea-girt earth full of treasure."[74] And for them, not accustomed to lift their eyes to a transcending world, the wisdom propounded in those *itihasas* was good enough. "The Hindu as a rule," says Dr Lionel Barnett, "dearly loves a story, and still more dearly a story with a moral, for he is naturally sententious and fond of sententious speech, and usually an appropriate adage, 'the wisdom of many and the wit of one', will in his heart at once".[75] The stories of *the Kalila and Dimna* were the congenial literature for their thirst of knowledge and of virtue. "They embodied a primeval though not much enlightened phase of practical wisdom ; though they

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72 Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

73 Menendez Pelayo, *op. cit.*, I, p. 36.

74 *Chandogya Upanisad*, III, 11, 5 - 6.

75 In the Introduction to *Hitopadesa, The Book of Wholesome*. A Translation from the Original Sanskrit by Francis Johnson, p. vii.

exercised influence not as much through their doctrine, as through their examples conveyed in the picturesque and attractive way of a story."[76] These two elements were undoubtedly the cause of their popularity among people engrossed in worldly affairs. Such generally are kings and royalties. And indeed we find a galaxy of them among the patrons of the *Calila and Dimna.* Kushru Noshirwan, Amir Almansur, Amir Nasr ibn Ahmad Behram Shah, Sultan Husain Mirza, Akbar, Sulaiman the Magnificent, Alphonso X, Everhard of Wurtenberg and Princess Juana of Navarre are some of those who ordered the translation of the book or sponsored its publication in some way or other. That is the reason why Nasrullah ibn Muhammad, the translator of the book from Arabic into Persian (II), says concerning this book : "Than which after the books of the Holy Law there is no more valuable book".[77] Abu-'l Fazl, Akbar's friend and courtier, said likewise about it : "The original is a masterpiece of practical wisdom".[78] It was undoubtedly for the same reason that the book was styled "a tree, of whose fruit whoso takes and eats grows not old, nor ever dies".[79] For such worldly people the *Calila and Dimna* "embodies a number of fables of clear moral teaching : humility, temperance, friendship, venaration of God are exalted in and through them".[80]

As regards Spain the influence of the book on later literature, specially on the Infante Don Juan Manuel, the Arcipreste of Hita and Berceo and later on Raymond Llull, is so extraordinary that it has been considered as one of the corner stones of the national literature of the country. "In Spain itself," says Fitzmauric-Kelly, "it became the prototype of all works that sought to instruct 'por enxemplos de homes o de aves e de animalias' (by examples of men or birds and of animals)".[81] The success that the *Calila e Dimna*

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76 Menendez Pelayo, *op. et loc. cit.*

77 Cf. Tawny, *The Ocean of Story,* II, p. xx.

78 Abu-'l-Fazl, *A'in-i-Akbari,* I, p. 106 (Brockman's translation).

79 Jalalu'd-din Rumi, *Mathnavi,* II, 3641 - 2.

80 Diaz-Plaja, *Historia de la Literature Espanola,* p. 52 (Barcelona, 1943).

81 Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *op. cit.,* p. 28.

had in Spanish soil may also be due, at least partially, to the peculiar character of the people of the country. "When Alphonso the Wise ordered the book to be translated," says a modern Spanish author, "Castillians found in it an eloquent expression of such thoughts which are essential in the history of our ideology".[82] Such was the ideology that culminated in the drama "La Vida es Sueno" ("Life is but a dream") by Calderon de la Barca, one of the greatest masterpieces of Spanish literature.

IX

THE STORY OF THE CAT IN SCULPTURE

Considering the tremendous success of the book of Bilpay or Visnu Sarma, it is not strange that besides the number of translations and editions some of its stories should have been represented in sculpture from ancient times. We have already referred to one of the *Jataka* stories reproduced round the stupa of Bharhut, wherein there are still others full of ingenuity and artistic skill. But the story of our hypocritical cat, shamming ascetic spirit is not found there. To find it in plastic forms we must go down South on the rocks of Mahabalipuram.

The Pallava King Narasimhavarman Mahamalla, after having built numerous cave temples and rock shrines in that picturesque cluster of huge rocks, caused a large relief to be carved on the face of two joined boulders. Numerous scenes are depicted in this famous carving. Suffice it to say for the present that the vertical crevice existing between the two boulders, was very ingeniously imagined to be the river Ganga, which was at times made natural, and so to say, living by a flow of water descending from a reservoir on the top of the boulders. *Nagas* and *naginis* are shown sporting in the sacred waters. The main scene on the field to the left of the river is the penance of Arjuna who is shown on one of the upper layers of the carving standing on one leg with lifted arms

82 Valbuena Prat, *Historia de la Literatura Espanola*, I, p. 97, (Barcelona, 1937).

while Siva appears before him ready to give him the *pasupata,* as is narrated in the *Mahabharata.*[83]

This austere pose of the great warrior together with the proximity of the Ganga very likely brought the memory of the ascetic cat on the banks of the Ganga to the mind of the artist. We have said elsewhere that that unknown artist, who was "a wonderful master in depicting the natural scenes of the forest, and the neighbouring haunts of the river . . . had also a keen sense of humour".[84] Following therefore the dictations of the latter he placed the ascetic cat on the foreground of the field to the right of the river. There he stands erect on one of his hind legs (his right leg is hanging as limp as a rag), with his forepaws uplifted over his head, facing the rising sun and looking upwards, as if it were enraptured in a vision of things celestial. His ribs may be actually counted as the fruit of his ascetic exhaustion, in reality as the result of his enforced fast in not having caught any mouse for a long time owing to his old age. The little mice of the forest are shown round him in poses quite unfamiliar among mice in the proximity of a cat. Some sleep quite unconcerned, others look at him in astonishment, two stand rampant in a worshipping attitude. The naturalness of all the poses, in both cat and mice, reveal a masterful hand in that unknown artist of the Pallava sea capital.[85] Unfortunately the subsequent episodes of the famous *itihasa* were not reproduced by him. This deficiency nevertheless is supplemented by two carvings existent in a western European country, wherein the same story inspired an equally masterful artist.

In the cloister of the Cathedral of Tarragona, Spain, there are two reliefs carved on the abacus of two capitals, which are famous in that city and its neighbourhood with the denomination of "the procession of the rats". One of them represents a number of rats smartly walking on their hind

83 *Mahabharata,* Vana Parva, 1541 - 1662.

84 Heras, *Studies in Pallava History,* p. 92.

85 Another rough representation of the hypocritical cat is found in a carved panel on the enclosure wall of the sea shore temple also at Mahabalipuram. Cf. Longhurst, *Pallava Architecture,* III, pl. III (*a*).

legs, four of which carry a stretcher over which the cat is lying. One of the mice in front of the stretcher carries a basket in his right arm. The artist has very cleverly filled the gap under the stretcher by placing there one of the mice walking on his fours but holding with his right forepaw a stick or rod leaning against his shoulder ; from the end of this stick a triangular object hangs, which cannot be clearly defined. Perhaps it is the staff and flag which all the ascetics or *sannyasis* usually carry in their daily wanderings in India. People call this carving "the burial of the cat". Yet the way how the cat is carved clearly shows that he is not dead. His legs are not limp ; his mouth is open as if talking ; his eyes are full of life. The carving represents the episode of carrying the cat to the river bank to take there his daily bath, as described in the *Mahabharata.*

The other carving represents the final episode of the story. The cat has thrown away the mask of asceticism, has suddenly jumped from the stretcher, which is seen leaning against the wall, and has actually caught one of the little mice unawares, while all the others are seen flying for their lives in all directions. There is only one standing afar, holding something like a weapon in his left hand, as if he were admonishing the hypocritical rogue. He may be the old Kilika of the *Mahabharata* account. We sincerely think that the popular explanation which identifies the episodes represented in these carvings with the much later version of La Fontaine's fable lacks in solid foundation.[86]

The Cathedral of Tarragona was built during the second half of the 12th century and first half of the 13th century. Naturally the cloister was added when the Cathedral was finished. We may rightly surmise that the cloister belongs to the second half of the 13th century. The publication of the *Calila e Dimna* was then fresh in northern Spain, as it had been translated in 1257. By the same time the Indian epic story must have spread throughout Spain and the freshness

86 In the same southern wing of the cloister two other apologues are likewise illustrated in a series of abaci : the fox which allows the cocks to peck him, as if he were dead, to finally catch them, and the fox and the crow holding a cheese in their mouths.

of the story of the villain cat transpires throughout those carvings even after seven centuries. It is not therefore strange that, as is said by the Marques de Lozoya, " their humour reminds one of the apologes of Indian style which were then being spread throughout the world of Romanic languages ".[87] Six centuries had elapsed between the carving of Mahabalipuram (7th century) and the two carvings of Tarragona, and thousands of miles intervened between these two places. Yet the Spanish artist seemed to have inherited the spirit of his predecessor of India. The plastic representation of the drama of the cat begins in Mahabalipuram and ends in Tarragona.

87 Contreras, *Historia del Arte Hispanico,* II, pp. 28 - 29.

TAMILIANA—NEWS & NOTES

TAMILS FORM CULTURAL SOCIETY IN CEYLON

JUNE, 1952.

The need for study of Tamil was stressed when the Tamil Cultural Association was inaugurated recently at a meeting held at the Tamil Union pavilion. Mr. Justice C. Nagalingam presided. Mr. Nagalingam explained to the members the aims of the Association as formulated by the organisers of the movement. Mr Nagalingam added that the Association would not clash with any of the existing organisations imbued with similar ideals, but would seek to win their co-operation. He hoped that members would take a keen interest and do their utmost to foster the aims and objects of the Association.

The objects of the Association are to promote the study, development and advancement of the Tamil language, literature, history, arts, archaeology and culture in all aspects.

Messages were read from Mr. R. O. Buell, General Secretary of the Y.M.C.A., and Mr. A. M. K. Kumaraswamy, Registrar of the University of Ceylon, promising their cooperation and best wishes for the success of the Association.

Mr. K. S. Arulnandy said that Tamil culture had remained static for some time. He promised to the new-born Association, support on behalf of the Colombo Tamil Kalagam.

Mrs. Ratna Navaratnam, who spoke on the role of women in the cultural domain, referred to the contributions made by the great Tamil women to ennoble the Tamil way of life. Mr. S. U. Somasegaram stressed the need to study Tamil history in the correct perspective.

Mr. K. Nesiah drew the attention of the members to certain recommendations of the official Languages Commission and questioned whether it was within the purview of this society to explore the possibility of co-ordinating the Tamil code script needed in the transmission of telegrams in South India.

The following were elected office-bearers :—*President* Mr. Justice Nagalingam ; *Joint Secretaries* : Mr. S. Sivasubramaniam, Mrs. Ratna Navaratnam ; *Treasurer* : Mr. S. Ratnanathar.

PUBLICATION OF POET BHARATI'S SONGS

MADRAS, JULY 3.

The Government has authorised the Director of Public Instruction to deal with requests from authors and publishers of text books for the inclusion of poems or songs of Poet Bharati in text books, adopting the rates of royalty fixed in its order on February 12, 1951. Applications from authors and publishers other than text books also will be dealt with by the Director of Public Instruction. Those from film producing concerns, gramophone companies, etc., will be dealt with by the Government.

TAMIL QUESTION IN PARLIAMENT

NEW DELHI, JULY 4.

A supplementary in Tamil startled many members of the House of the Peoples at question time today.

Mr. S. K. Kandaswamy, better known as " Babie Kandaswamy ", a member from Madras, asked the Railway Minister, Mr Lal Bahadur Shastri, in chaste Tamil when it was proposed to restore the Morappur-Hosur railway line on the Southern Railway.

Mr. K. Anandan Nambiar (Com.) and Mr. C. R. Narasimhan (Cong.) offered to translate the question, but the Speaker passed on to the next question.

Mr. Kandasamy said in the lobby that he had informed the Speaker that he would like to speak always in Tamil.

" I want to speak in Tamil," he told press men, " as a counterblast to Hindi enthusiasts."

LINGUISTIC HARMONY

NEW DELHI, JULY 6.

Mr. M. P. Sivagnana Gramani, M.L.C., Madras, today suggested that the Government of India should invite a team of poets and other men of letters from the South to tour the whole of North India for an exchange of ideas and culture.

Speaking at the Delhi Tamil Sangham on "Language and the Country," he said differences are bound to exist between the various languages in a country like India. But these differences should not be allowed to create hatred in one lingual group against the other. There should be a "give and take" attitude in the movements of people of different languages and culture he added.

Welcoming the reported proposal for embossing postal covers and cards with pictures of Indian poets, Mr. Gramani said this step would go long way in giving fillip to the cultural renaissance in the Country. Pictures of South Indian poets and writers, like Tiruvalluvar and Subramania Bharathi, should also be included in the scheme, so that there was real exchange of ideas and culture among the various lingual groups.

Mr. T. D. Krishnamachari, Minister for Commerce and Industry, who presided said people who talked of language differences perhaps had nothing bad at heart, but were only doing so because of their political affiliations.

Dr. K. S. Krishnan, President of the Sangham earlier welcomed the Minister and the Speaker.

ORGANISATION TO DIFFUSE TAMIL CULTURE FORMED IN SINGAPORE.

SINGAPORE, JULY, 17.

An organisation dedicated to spread Tamil Culture, civilisation, art, and all other rich attainments of the Tamils, among the peoples of the world, was incepted in Singapore recently with Mr. S. K. Shanmugam, M. A., B. T., as the President and S. Soundara Rajan as the Secretary and Treasurer and Messrs C. V. Kuppusamy, M. Chidambaram, K. C. Arun, V. Thirunavukkarasu and T. Selvaganapathy as the members of the council of the organisation,

This organisation which is known as the "Tamil Diffusion League" will tell the peoples of the world about the Tamil contribution to world letters and to world culture, and will also create an awareness in them that the Tamilians have got a culture and civilisation of their own, inimitable and singularly original. The activities of the League are proposed to be directed through the media of press, platform, radio and individual contacts. The League while attempting to diffuse Tamil among the peoples of the world, will also attempt to understand and appreciate the cultural attainments of other peoples. It will also work in harmony with other organisations of similar motives. One of the objects of the league includes the teaching of Tamil to foreigners through correspondence study course. The official address of the League is : 165, Serangoon Road, Singapore, Malaya.

UNESCO AND *THIRUKKURAL*

To Mr. K. Ganesh, enterprising Tamil Journalist of Talatuoya, Ceylon, the UNESCO Office in Paris sent the following reply regarding the publication of translations of *Thirukkural* by the UNESCO.

" I cannot unfortunately, send you a complete list of the world's classics which Unesco is preparing to translate because there is no such list. We shall have one only when all nations have sent in their own list of books recommended for translation. Unfortunately, there is still a large number of missing ones.

I thank you for your suggestion regarding the translation of *Thirukkural.* Unfortunately again, India or Ceylon have not so far responded to our proposals that they should cooperate with Unesco for translation into and from the Indian or Ceylonese languages, and we cannot do it otherwise than through such co-operation."

(*Sd.*) J. J. Mayoux,
Arts and Letters Division,
Unesco Office, Paris.

TAMIL FESTIVAL AT MADRAS

MADRAS, AUG. 23

Sri C. Rajagopalachariar, Chief Minister, today categorically declared that Madras City belonged and would continue to belong to Tamils, and there need not be any anxiety about it. It was a matter of fact, and there was, therefore, no need to invoke the aid of all the galaxy of great Tamil saints and poets of old that had flourished in and around this great City to establish that fact.

Sri Rajagopalachariar was inaugurating the 5th Tamil Festival at the Teynampet Congress grounds. Over 5,000 people, including 120 delegates from Ceylon, Malaya, and other places attended.

Mr. M. Bhaktavatsalam, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates, explained it might seem unusual to celebrate the festival of a language which was their mother tongue.

In countries like England and France, patriotism and love of language were intertwined forming the basis of the political, economic, social and spiritual life of the people.

The importance of the mother-tongue had suffered because of foreign domination, and after independence there were signs of resuscitation and revival in every sphere of human activity, including the development of their own language. Tamil, he declared was eternal, vital language.

Mr Bhaktavatsalam traced the history and development of Tamil in Thondaimandalam, in which Madras City was included.

Great Tamil poets and saints like Tiruvalluvar, Sekkizhar, Peyazhwar and Sri Ramanuja had contributed to the development of Tamil in this area. Triplicane and Mylapore were historic spots, known abroad from the first century of the Christian era. Tamil literary evidence showed that Madras had contacts with countries abroad centuries ago.

He emphasised that they had no hatred towards any other language or culture nor were they belittling them, by celebrating the festival.

Steps should be taken to reconvert the numerous temples in the land into centres of social, educational and cultural activity, where schools, art demonstrations and philosophical disquisitions had taken place in the 100 and 1,000-pillared mantapas therein. Temple managements should undertake to spread knowledge of Tamil classics, publish cheap editions. He appealed to religious Mutts to intensify their activity.

Tamil, he emphasised, transcended religious and sectarian limitations. Newer and newer books in the various departments of science and art should be encouraged. The first volume of the Tamil Encyclopaedia would be published soon.

Sri Rajagopalachariar said that when he heard the fine Tamil speech of Mr. Bhaktavatsalam, he felt that hitherto Mr Bhaktavatsalam had been in the wrong place. (Laughter).

Rajaji added that Tamil, as a language, had retained its prestine purity and identity along with its glory to this day, which made it easy to understand the ancient classics without difficulty. That was not the case with other languages like English.

They could develop their language, not by merely worshipping it, not by hating and belittling other languages, but by real service to it with concentration and single-minded devotion.

Anger and animosity led to disintegration and failure. They should stop comparing their language with others and entering into futile disquisitions.

Tamil had such a vitality that attempts, made by well-meaning people, and encouraged by him, to reform its script to suit modern printing processes had failed. Those who tried it had reverted to the old method of Tamil script. In speaking and writing Tamil, they had to follow the grammar, and that enhanced the beauty of the language.

The Chief Minister referred to the scurrilous and obscene writing in some Tamil journals and said it was unworthy of of them and appealed to the people not to read them.

On the question of the future of Madras City, Rajaji said the figures given of the number of Telugus and Tamils in Madras City were all incorrect and misleading.

Some people who spoke Telugu had been living in the City for 10 generations and more and they had forgotten the old Telugu but spoke only Tamil now. They could not be called Telugus, but they were also included as Telugus in this enumeration. For instance, such a Telugu was Mr. Purushottama Nayudu who had rendered a fine Tamil edition of the invaluable Yeadu (work) the Manipravala commentary on Nammalwar's Divyaprabandam. Would anyone call him a Telugu? All this controversy was misleading and they should avoid it. They need not be anxious and afraid. Madras City belonged to Tamils and none else.

Mr Bhaktavatsalam tried to invoke the aid of Alwars and others, and all that was not at all called for and necessary. From what Mr Bhaktavatsalam had said, it appeared that Madras was all Tamil Nad and there was no Tamil Nad apart from Madras. (Laughter).

Rajaji said whether Andhras were to leave them or remain with them, it was all the same. He was the Chief Minister of a common State and if they were bent on separating they should be allowed to do so. But if one should cling fast to the pillar and cry "I want to get away," it meant that he was not really wanting to go. (Laughter). Madras City was like a pillar to them, the Tamils.

Mr C. R. Srinivasan and Mr T. P. Meenakshisundaram Pillai introduced the President to the audience.

Tamil Culture

Thiru V. Kalyanasundara Mudaliar, in his presidential address, explained that the essence of Tamil and its culture was socialism and not imperialistic. Therefore, he could never visualise Tamil language spreading to other countries. But the culture imbedded in the extensive Tamil literature should be spread and interpreted in lands abroad for the benefit of the people. Development of language and real culture was

possible only where honest differences of opinion was tolerated, and only in such a climate could Tamil develop.

He wanted research into the basic philosophy behind the various sciences, and the study of humanities more than the Science subjects. Emphasising that the system of education should be reformed he pleaded for the revival of the old Gurukula system. The valuable works of the Great Tamil Siddhas should be investigated and the treasures made available to all.

Exhibition Opened

Dr P. Subbaroyan, President, Tamil Nad Congress Committee, yesterday opened a Tamil Exhibition organised in connection with Tamil Festival. He said the exhibition was the second of its kind the first having been held at Jaffna. A visit to Bali would show how Tamil civilisation had gone beyond the seas and taken root in far-off lands. In Bali they saw Bommalattam (punch and judy show) at its best. In Java though the population was mostly Muslim, they were fond of reading the ancient Indian classics like the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.

Discussions and Lectures

Madras, Aug. 24.

At the fifth annual Tamil Festival at the Teynampet Congress grounds today, "The Astronomy of the Tamils" was the subject of a discussion in the morning.

Srimathi E. T. Rajeswari, who presided, explained the great advances made in the study of astronomy by ancient Tamils, extensive proof of which was available in the Tamil literature and classics.

Mr P. N. Appuswami spoke on "Ideals and attempts" and Mr K. Srinivasaraghavan on "Our Ancient Astrology",

Discussion on "Tamil and its Literature" began later. Mr. P. T. Rajan, President, could not be present and Dr P. Subbaroyan presided, and read his address. Mr. Rajan referred to recent developments in Tamil literature and drew pointed attention to the present condition of Tamils in Malaya, South Africa and Ceylon. He appealed to the Tamils to try their best to help their brethren abroad.

Mr. T. P. Meenakshisundaranar spoke on "The Culture of the Tamils", and Prof. A Srinivasaraghavan on "Tamil Drama", Mr. P. Sri Acharya discussed "The Bharathi Era in Tamil Literature."

The Conference then adjourned for lunch.

CEYLON-INDIAN CONTACTS

Yesterday afternoon the Conference discussed "Art and Painting". Mr. T. K. Shanmukam sang a prayer. Introducing Mr S. Natesa Pillai, Ceylon Minister, to the audience, the Finance Minister, Mr C. Subramaniam, explained the cultural contacts between the Tamils of Ceylon and Madras.

Mr R. Krishnamurthi paid a tribute to Mr Natesa Pillai's services to Tamil.

Mr Natesa Pillai explained the development of sculpture and architecture in Tamil Nad and there was vast scope for research about ancient Tamil civilisation. The temples in South India were supreme examples of Tamil art and architecture. Atheism would mean the death-knell of Tamil art, and therefore, they should nip atheism in the bud.

Mr. T. M. Deivasikhamani Achariar, M.L.C., spoke on "Indian art and sculpture."

Mr K. Chandrasekharan spoke on "The language of art", and Mr T. M. Bhaskara Tondaiman on "Temples and art".

Mr T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar explained the need to develop Tamil literature in modern scientific fields, and distributed prizes and certificates to authors of books selected for the purpose. Mr K. V. Jagannathan spoke on "Painting in Tamil Literature".

WORK ON TAMIL ENCYCLOPAEDIA

MADRAS, AUG. 24.

The possibility of bringing out the first part of the Tamil Encyclopaedia containing matter arranged under the first four letters of the Tamil Alphabet (அ, ஆ, இ, and ஈ) in December this year or early in January next year, was envisaged by Mr T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar, President of the Tamil Valarchi Kazhagam, on the occasion of the distribution of prizes and certificates for the best publication of the year in six branches of Tamil literature, last evening, in connection with the Tamil Festival.

Mr M. Periasami Thooran, Secretary of the Kazhagam, presented the fifth annual report of the Tamil Vallarchi Kazhagam.

The report stated that the main function of the organisation was to encourage Tamil writers to break new ground by awarding prizes and certificates to the best publications in each year. For this purpose, publications were broadly classified into twelve sections and prizes were awarded each year to the best works in six of the sections.

The report next dealt with the progress made in the compilation of the Tamil Encyclopaedia. It would be a publication of 9,000 pages divided into a number of parts. The most important part of the work was to decide upon the subjects to be included in it and to arrange them in the alphabetical order. Subjects included would come under forty odd sections like Science, Arts, Literature, etc., and they would have to be classified under 13,500 odd headings. So far material had been prepared for over 3,500 pages or four parts. Over 1,000 pictures had been got ready for inclusion in the encyclopaedia. This was the first attempt at compiling such a comprehensive work and, therefore, it involved enormous labour. Tamil equivalents to millions of technical and scientific terms had to be coined. In this task, the Kazhagam had received the help and co-operation of several persons. To them all the thanks of the Kazhagam were due. They were also thankful for the liberal grant promised by the Government. To entitle them to receive the grant, public donation

to the extent of Rs. 50,000 should be forthcoming. The report hoped that the public would make generous contributions.

Mr T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar then addressed the gathering. He said that when they started the Tamil Valarchi Kazhagam five years ago, they undertook a heavy responsibility. At that time, they did not think that the annual Tamil Festival held under its auspices would develop into such magnificent proportions. That encouraged them to proceed with the work they had taken on hand.

Objects of the Kazhagam

The main object of the Kazhagam was the development of the Tamil language. Two schools of thought stood in the way of the progress of Tamil. One consisted of those who thought that there was nothing new in Tamil literature and that the works that really counted could be put in one shelf. The other school consisted of those who held the view that there was nothing new to learn beyond what was contained in ancient Tamil literature. Both the schools could not contribute to the growth of Tamil. What was required was a happy blending of reverence for the old and a quest for the new. There were high thoughts and a fund of knowledge in the literature that had developed from the age of Tolkappiyam. That had to be learnt through the medium of Tamil alone. There were new ideas and knowledge, particularly on scientific subjects, outside the Tamil literature. That had to be brought within the ambit of Tamil literature and made to serve the needs of Tamilians. This was the great task which the Tamil Valarchi Kazhagam had undertaken.

They hoped to bring out a comprehensive Tamil Encyclopaedia in nine volumes at a cost of Rs. 10 lakhs. Work was progressing satisfactorily and they hoped to bring out the first volume in December or January next and thereafter the press would be fed regularly and the remaining volumes published one after another.

END

Edited and published by Xavier S. Thani Nayagam M. A.; M. Litt; S. T. D., Director, Tamil Literature Society, 52, New Colony, Tuticorin, South India.

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